



The Ostian head of Mithras
Roman

SYMBOLS
OF
TRANSFORMATION

AN ANALYSIS OF THE PRELUDE TO A CASE OF SCHIZOPHRENIA

C. G. JUNG

SECOND EDITION



TRANSLATED BY R F C HULL

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EDITORIAL NOTE

As the author's Foreword indicates, the volume from which the present translation has been made is an extensive revision, published in 1952, of *Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido*, published in 1912.* The reasons for this revision and its extent are explained by Dr Jung and need no further comment here.

The present translation differs in certain respects from the revised Swiss edition. First of all, the number of illustrations has been reduced. In the Swiss edition, these had been inserted to amplify the text rather than to illustrate. It seemed to the Editors that the illustrations sometimes had the disadvantage of interrupting the text unduly, and after careful consideration it was decided that only those having a direct relevance to the text should be included. Among these, some new photographs and substitutions have been used. Secondly, an appendix containing the complete Miller fantasies has been added. Since these were available only in a French text published in 1906 in the *Archives de psychologie*, a translation by Philip Mairet has been provided. The textual quotations are also from this translation. Other differences from the Swiss edition result from bringing the volume into conformity with the general plan for the Collected Works. A bibliography has been added, and accordingly the references in the footnotes have been somewhat shortened.

In respect to the quotations from various languages, special mention must be made of the work of Dr A. Wasserstein and Dr Marie Louise von Franz in checking and translating some of the Latin and Greek texts. The philological material has been checked over by Dr Leopold Stein.

* First published in two parts in the *Jahrbuch für psychoanalytische und psychopathologische Forschungen* (Leipzig) III IV (1911-12) and republished the same year as a book by Deutscher Verlag, Leipzig and Vienna. An English translation by Dr Beatrice M. Hinkle entitled *Psychology of the Unconscious* was published in 1916 by Moffatt Yard and Co. New York and in 1917 by Kegan Paul, London. Translations have also appeared in Dutch, French and Italian.

EDITORIAL NOTE TO THE SECOND EDITION

For this edition, appearing ten years after the first, bibliographical citations and entries have been revised in the light of subsequent publications in the *Collected Works* and in the Standard Edition of Freud's works, some translations have been substituted in quotations, and other essential corrections have been made, but there have been no changes of substance in the text.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

During the preparation of this volume, the text of the original English translation by Beatrice M. Hinkle, first published in America in 1916 under the title *Psychology of the Unconscious*, was freely consulted. Certain of the quotations of poetry there rendered by Louis Untermeyer have been taken over into the present edition, sometimes with slight modifications. For some of the quotations from *Faust*, I am indebted to Philip Wayne, both for extracts from his published version of Part 1 and for passages from Part 2 specially translated for this volume. Quotations from Latin and Greek sources are taken when possible from existing translations, but mostly they are of a composite nature, resulting from comparison of the existing translations with the original texts and with the German versions used by the author, who in some cases translated direct from the originals. For the purpose of comparison, reference is sometimes made, in square brackets, to an existing translation although it has not been quoted.

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and Things, and translations from Nietzsche's works, and figs. 28 and 33, from *The Mythology of All Races*, II; The Medici Society, London, for an illustration from Budge's *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, I; Methuen and Co., London: figs. 5, 24, and 27 and Pl. XLlb, from Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*; Oxford University Press, New York: passages from Louis MacNeice's translation of *Faust*; Penguin Books: passages from Rieu's translation of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, de Selincourt's translation of Herodotus, Wayne's translation of *Faust*, and Hamilton's translation of Plato; Princeton University Press: passages from E. A. Speiser's translations in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*; Reimer Verlag, Berlin: a plate from LeCoq, *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*; Schwann Verlag, Düsseldorf: a plate from Clemen, *Die romanische Wandmalerei des Rheinlands*; Seeman Verlag, Cologne: a plate from Cohn, *Buddha in der Kunst des Ostens*; Sheed and Ward, New York: passages from F. J. Sheed's translation of the *Confessions* of St. Augustine; Stubenrauch Verlag, Berlin: a plate from Spiess, *Marksteine der Volkskunst*; Editions Tel, Paris: a photograph of Strasbourg Cathedral, by Marc Foucault; Mr. Philip Wayne: passages from his unpublished translation of *Faust*, Part II.

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FOREWORD TO THE FOURTH SWISS EDITION¹

I have long been conscious of the fact that this book, which was written thirty-seven years ago, stood in urgent need of revision, but my professional obligations and my scientific work never left me sufficient leisure to settle down in comfort to this unpleasant and difficult task. Old age and illness released me at last from my professional duties and gave me the necessary time to contemplate the sins of my youth. I have never felt happy about this book, much less satisfied with it: it was written at top speed, amid the rush and press of *my medical practice*, without regard to time or method. I had to fling my material hastily together, just as I found it. There was no opportunity to let my thoughts mature. The whole thing came upon me like a landslide that cannot be stopped. The urgency that lay behind it became clear to me only later: it was the explosion of all those psychic contents which could find no room, no breathing-space, in the constricting atmosphere of Freudian psychology and its narrow outlook. I have no wish to denigrate Freud, or to detract from the extraordinary merits of his investigation of the individual psyche. But the conceptual framework into which he fitted the psychic phenomenon seemed to me unendurably narrow. I am not thinking here of his theory of neurosis, which can be as narrow as it pleases if only it is adequate to the empirical facts, or of his theory of dreams, about which different views may be held in all good faith; I am thinking more of the reductive causalism of his whole outlook, and the almost complete disregard of the teleological directedness which is so characteristic of everything psychic. Although Freud's book *The Future of an Illusion* dates from his later years, it gives the best possible account of his earlier views, which move within the confines of the outmoded rationalism and scientific materialism of the late nineteenth century.

As might be expected, my book, born under such conditions, consisted of larger or smaller fragments which I could only string together in an unsatisfying manner. It was an attempt,

¹ [The edition here translated—*Editors*]

only partially successful, to create a wider setting for medical psychology and to bring the whole of the psychic phenomenon within its purview. One of my principal aims was to free medical psychology from the subjective and personalistic bias that characterized its outlook at that time, and to make it possible to understand the unconscious as an objective and collective psyche. The personalism in the views of Freud and Adler that went hand in hand with the individualism of the nineteenth century failed to satisfy me because, except in the case of instinctive dynamisms (which actually have too little place in Adler), it left no room for objective, impersonal facts. Freud, accordingly, could see no objective justification for my attempt, but suspected personal motives.

Thus this book became a landmark, set up on the spot where two ways divided. Because of its imperfections and its incompleteness it laid down the programme to be followed for the next few decades of my life. Hardly had I finished the manuscript when it struck me what it means to live with a myth, and what it means to live without one. Myth, says a Church Father, is "what is believed always, everywhere, by everybody"; hence the man who thinks he can live without myth, or outside it, is an exception. He is like one uprooted, having no true link either with the past, or with the ancestral life which continues within him, or yet with contemporary human society. He does not live in a house like other men, does not eat and drink like other men, but lives a life of his own, sunk in a subjective mania of his own devising, which he believes to be the newly discovered truth. This plaything of his reason never grips his vitals. It may occasionally lie heavy on his stomach, for that organ is apt to reject the products of reason as indigestible. The psyche is not of today; its ancestry goes back many millions of years. Individual consciousness is only the flower and the fruit of a season, sprung from the perennial rhizome beneath the earth; and it would find itself in better accord with the truth if it took the existence of the rhizome into its calculations. For the root matter is the mother of all things.

So I suspected that myth had a meaning which I was sure to miss if I lived outside it in the haze of my own speculations. I was driven to ask myself in all seriousness: "What is the myth you are living?" I found no answer to this question, and had to

admit that I was not living with a myth, or even in a myth, but rather in an uncertain cloud of theoretical possibilities which I was beginning to regard with increasing distrust. I did not know that I was living a myth, and even if I had known it, I would not have known what sort of myth was ordering my life without my knowledge. So, in the most natural way, I took it upon myself to get to know "my" myth, and I regarded this as the task of tasks, for—so I told myself—how could I, when treating my patients, make due allowance for the personal factor, for my personal equation, which is yet so necessary for a knowledge of the other person, if I was unconscious of it? I simply had to know what unconscious or preconscious myth was forming me, from what rhizome I sprang. This resolve led me to devote many years of my life to investigating the subjective contents which are the products of unconscious processes, and to work out methods which would enable us, or at any rate help us, to explore the manifestations of the unconscious. Here I discovered, bit by bit, the connecting links that I should have known about before if I was to join up the fragments of my book. I do not know whether I have succeeded in this task now, after a lapse of thirty seven years. Much pruning had to be done, many gaps filled. It has proved impossible to preserve the style of 1912, for I had to incorporate many things that I found out only many years later. Nevertheless I have tried, despite a number of radical interventions, to leave as much of the original edifice standing as possible, for the sake of continuity with previous editions. And although the alterations are considerable, I do not think one could say that it has turned into a different book. There can be no question of that because the whole thing is really only an extended commentary on a practical analysis of the prodromal stages of schizophrenia. The symptoms of the case form the Ariadne thread to guide us through the labyrinth of symbolistic parallels, that is, through the amplifications which are absolutely essential if we wish to establish the meaning of the archetypal context. As soon as these parallels come to be worked out they take up an incredible amount of space, which is why expositions of case histories are such an arduous task. But that is only to be expected: the deeper you go, the broader the base becomes. It certainly does not become narrower, and it never by any chance ends in a point—in a psychic trauma, for

instance. Any such theory presupposes a knowledge of the traumatically affected psyche which no human being possesses, and which can only be laboriously acquired by investigating the workings of the unconscious. For this a great deal of comparative material is needed, and it cannot be dispensed with any more than in comparative anatomy. Knowledge of the subjective contents of consciousness means very little, for it tells us next to nothing about the real, subterranean life of the psyche. In psychology as in every science a fairly wide knowledge of other subjects is among the requisites for research work. A nodding acquaintance with the theory and pathology of neurosis is totally inadequate, because medical knowledge of this kind is merely information about an illness, but not knowledge of the soul that is ill. I wanted, so far as lay within my power, to redress that evil with this book—then as now.

This book was written in 1911, in my thirty-sixth year. The time is a critical one, for it marks the beginning of the second half of life, when a metanoia, a mental transformation, not infrequently occurs. I was acutely conscious, then, of the loss of friendly relations with Freud and of the lost comradeship of our work together. The practical and moral support which my wife gave me at that difficult period is something I shall always hold in grateful remembrance.

September, 1950

C. G. JUNG

FOREWORD TO THE THIRD SWISS EDITION

The new edition of this book appears essentially unaltered except for a few textual improvements which hardly affect its content.

This book has to perform the thankless task of making clear to my contemporaries that the problems of the human psyche cannot be tackled with the meagre equipment of the doctor's consulting room any more than they can be tackled with the layman's famous understanding of the world and human nature. Psychology cannot dispense with the contribution made by the humane sciences and certainly not with that made by the history of the human mind. For it is history above all that today enables us to bring the huge mass of empirical material into ordered relationships and to recognize the functional significance of the collective contents of the unconscious. The psyche is not something unalterably given but a product of its own continuous development. Hence altered glandular secretions or aggravated personal relationships are not the sole causes of neurotic conflicts; these can equally well be caused by historically conditioned attitudes and mental factors. Scientific and medical knowledge is in no sense sufficient to grasp the nature of the soul nor does the psychiatric understanding of pathological processes help to integrate them into the totality of the psyche. Similarly mere rationalization is not an adequate instrument. History teaches us over and over again that contrary to rational expectation irrational factors play the largest indeed the decisive role in all processes of psychic transformation.

It seems as if this insight were slowly making headway with the somewhat drastic assistance of contemporary events.

November, 1937

C. G. JUNG

FOREWORD TO THE SECOND SWISS EDITION

In this second edition the text of the book remains, for technical reasons, unaltered. The reappearance of this book after twelve years, without alterations, does not mean that I did not consider certain emendations and improvements desirable. But such improvements would have affected details only, and not anything essential. The views and opinions I expressed in the book I would still maintain, in substance and in principle, today. I must ask the reader to bear patiently with a number of minor inaccuracies and uncertainties of detail.

This book has given rise to a good deal of misunderstanding. It has even been suggested that it represents my method of treatment. Apart from the fact that such a method would be a practical impossibility, the book is far more concerned with working out the fantasy material of an unknown young American woman, pseudonymously known as Frank Miller. This material was originally published by my respected and fatherly friend, the late Théodore Flournoy, in the *Archives de psychologie* (Geneva). I had the great satisfaction of hearing from his own lips that I had hit off the young woman's mentality very well. Valuable confirmation of this reached me in 1918, through an American colleague who was treating Miss Miller for the schizophrenic disturbance which had broken out after her sojourn in Europe. He wrote to say that my exposition of the case was so exhaustive that even personal acquaintance with the patient had not taught him "one iota more" about her mentality. This confirmation led me to conclude that my reconstruction of the semi-conscious and unconscious fantasy processes had evidently hit the mark in all essential respects.

There is, however, one very common misunderstanding which I feel I ought to point out to the reader. The copious use of comparative mythological and etymological material necessitated by the peculiar nature of the Miller fantasies may evoke the impression, among certain readers, that the purpose of this book is to propound mythological or etymological hypotheses. This is far from my intention, for if it had been, I would have

undertaken to analyse a particular myth or whole corpus of myths, for instance an American Indian myth-cycle. For that purpose I would certainly not have chosen Longfellow's *Hiwatha*, any more than I would have used Wagner's *Siegfried* had I wished to analyse the cycle of the younger Edda. I use the material quoted in the book because it belongs, directly or indirectly, to the basic assumptions of the Miller fantasies, as I have explained more fully in the text. If, in this work, various mythologems are shown in a light which makes their psychological meaning more intelligible, I have mentioned this insight simply as a welcome by-product, without claiming to propound any general theory of myths. The real purpose of this book is confined to working out the implications of all those historical and spiritual factors which come together in the involuntary products of individual fantasy. Besides the obvious personal sources, creative fantasy also draws upon the forgotten and long buried primitive mind with its host of images, which are to be found in the mythologies of all ages and all peoples. The sum of these images constitutes the collective unconscious, a heritage which is potentially present in every individual. It is the psychic correlate of the differentiation of the human brain. This is the reason why mythological images are able to arise spontaneously over and over again, and to agree with one another not only in all the corners of the wide earth, but at all times. As they are present always and everywhere, it is an entirely natural proceeding to relate mythologems, which may be very far apart both temporally and ethnically, to an individual fantasy system. The creative substratum is everywhere this same human psyche and this same human brain, which, with relatively minor variations, functions everywhere in the same way.

Kusnacht/Zurich, November, 1924

C. G. JUNG

Therefore theory, which gives facts their value and significance, is often very useful, even if it is partially false, because it throws light on phenomena which no one has observed, it forces an examination, from many angles, of facts which no one has hitherto studied, and provides the impulse for more extensive and more productive researches. . . .

Hence it is a moral duty for the man of science to expose himself to the risk of committing error, and to submit to criticism in order that science may continue to progress. A writer . . . has launched a vigorous attack on the author, saying that this is a scientific ideal which is very limited and very paltry. . . . But those who are endowed with a mind serious and impersonal enough not to believe that everything they write is the expression of absolute and eternal truth will approve of this theory, which puts the aims of science well above the miserable vanity and paltry *amour propre* of the scientist.

—Ferrero, *Les Lois psychologiques du symbolisme*, p. viii

I

INTRODUCTION

1 Anyone who can read *Freud's Interpretation of Dreams* without being outraged by the novelty and seemingly unjustified boldness of his procedure and without waxing morally indignant over the stark nakedness of his dream interpretations but can let this extraordinary book work upon his imagination calmly and without prejudice will not fail to be deeply impressed at that point² where Freud reminds us that an individual conflict which he calls the incest fantasy lies at the root of that monumental drama of the ancient world the Oedipus legend. The impression made by this simple remark may be likened to the uncanny feeling which would seal over us if amid the noise and bustle of a modern city street we were suddenly to come upon an ancient relic—say the Corinthian capital of a long immured column or a fragment of an inscription. A moment ago and we were completely absorbed in the hectic ephemeral life of the present then the next moment something very remote and strange flashes upon us which directs our gaze to a different order of things. We turn away from the vast confusion of the present to glimpse the higher continuity of history. Suddenly we remember that on this spot where we now hasten to and fro about our business a similar scene of life and activity prevailed two thousand years ago in slightly different forms similar passions moved mankind and people were just as convinced as we are of the uniqueness of their lives. This is the impression that may very easily be left behind by a first acquaintance with the monuments of antiquity and it seems to me that Freud's reference to the Oedipus legend is in every way comparable. While still struggling with the confusing impressions of the infinite variability of the individual psyche we suddenly catch a glimpse of the simplicity and grandeur of the

¹ *The Interpretation of Dreams* pp. 260-61

Oedipus tragedy, that perennial highlight of the Greek theatre. This broadening of our vision has about it something of a revelation. For our psychology, the ancient world has long since been sunk in the shadows of the past; in the schoolroom one could scarcely repress a sceptical smile when one indiscreetly calculated the matronly age of Penelope or pictured to oneself the comfortable middle-aged appearance of Jocasta, and comically compared the result with the tragic tempests of eroticism that agitate the legend and drama. We did not know then—and who knows even today?—that a man can have an unconscious, all-consuming passion for his mother which may undermine and tragically complicate his whole life, so that the monstrous fate of Oedipus seems not one whit overdrawn. Rare and pathological cases like that of Ninon de Lenclos and her son² are too remote from most of us to convey a living impression. But when we follow the paths traced out by Freud we gain a living knowledge of the existence of these possibilities, which, although too weak to compel actual incest, are yet sufficiently strong to cause very considerable psychic disturbances. We cannot, to begin with, admit such possibilities in ourselves without a feeling of moral revulsion, and without resistances which are only too likely to blind the intellect and render self-knowledge impossible. But if we can succeed in discriminating between objective knowledge and emotional value-judgments, then the gulf that separates our age from antiquity is bridged over, and we realize with astonishment that Oedipus is still alive for us. The importance of this realization should not be underestimated, for it teaches us that there is an identity of fundamental human conflicts which is independent of time and place. What aroused a feeling of horror in the Greeks still remains true, but it is true for us only if we give up the vain illusion that we are *different*, i.e., morally better, than the ancients. We have merely succeeded in forgetting that an indissoluble link binds us to the men of antiquity. This truth opens the way to an understanding of the classical spirit such as has never existed before—the way of inner sympathy on the one hand and of intellectual comprehension on the other. By penetrating into the blocked subterranean passages of our own psyches we grasp the living meaning

² He is supposed to have killed himself when he heard that his adored Ninon was really his mother

of classical civilization, and at the same time we establish a firm foothold outside our own culture from which alone it is possible to gain an objective understanding of its foundations. That at least is the hope we draw from the rediscovery of the immortality of the Oedipus problem.

² This line of inquiry has already yielded fruitful results: to it we owe a number of successful advances into the territory of the human mind and its history. These are the works of Riklin,³ Abraham,⁴ Rank,⁵ Maeder,⁶ and Jones,⁷ to which there has now been added Silberer's valuable study entitled "Phantasie und Mythos." Another work which cannot be overlooked is Pfister's contribution to Christian religious psychology.⁸ The *leitmotiv* of all these works is to find a clue to historical problems through the application of insights derived from the activity of the unconscious psyche in modern man. I must refer the reader to the works specified if he wishes to inform himself of the extent and nature of the insights already achieved. The interpretations are sometimes uncertain in particulars, but that does not materially detract from the total result. It would be significant enough if this merely demonstrated the far-reaching analogy between the psychological structure of the historical products and those of modern individuals. But the analogy applies with particular force to the symbolism, as Riklin, Rank, Maeder, and Abraham have shown, and also to the individual mechanisms governing the unconscious elaboration of motifs.

³ Psychological investigators have hitherto turned their attention mainly to the analysis of individual problems. But, as things are at present, it seems to me imperative that they should broaden the basis of this analysis by a comparative study of the historical material, as Freud has already tried to do in his study of Leonardo da Vinci.⁹ For, just as psychological knowledge furthers our understanding of the historical material, so, conversely, the historical material can throw new light on individual psychological problems. These considerations have led me to direct my attention more to the historical side of the picture, in the hope of gaining fresh insight into the foundations of

³ *Wishfulfilment and Symbolism in Fairy Tales*

⁴ *Dreams and Myths*

⁵ *The Myth of the Birth of the Hero*

⁶ *Die Symbolik in den Legenden*

⁷ *On the Nightmare*

⁸ *Die Frömmigkeit des Grafen Ludwig von Zinzendorf*

⁹ Also Rank, "Ein Traum, der sich selbst deutet."

psychology. In my later writings¹⁰ I have concerned myself chiefly with the question of historical and ethnological parallels, and here the researches of Erich Neumann have made a massive contribution towards solving the countless difficult problems that crop up everywhere in this hitherto little explored territory. I would mention above all his key work, *The Origins and History of Consciousness*,¹¹ which carries forward the ideas that originally impelled me to write this book, and places them in the broad perspective of the evolution of human consciousness in general.

¹⁰ [I.e., after 1912, the date of the original publication of the present work.—EDITORS]

¹¹ His subsequent publications *Umkreisung der Mitte* and *The Great Mother*, may also be included in this category [Three of the essays in the former work were translated in *Art and the Creative Unconscious*—EDITORS]

II

TWO KINDS OF THINKING

4 As most people know, one of the basic principles of analytical psychology is that dream images are to be understood symbolically, that is to say, one must not take them literally, but must surmise a hidden meaning in them. This ancient idea of dream symbolism has aroused not only criticism, but the strongest opposition. That dreams should have a meaning and should therefore be capable of interpretation, is certainly neither a strange nor an extraordinary idea. It has been known to mankind for thousands of years, indeed it has become something of a truism. One remembers having heard even at school of Egyptian and Chaldaean dream interpreters. Everyone knows the story of Joseph, who interpreted Pharaoh's dreams and of Daniel and the dream of King Nebuchadnezzar, and the dream book of Artemidorus is familiar to many of us. From the written records of all times and peoples we learn of significant and prophetic dreams, of warning dreams and of healing dreams sent by the gods. When an idea is so old and so generally believed, it must be true in some way, by which I mean that it is *psychologically true*.

5 For modern man it is hardly conceivable that a God existing outside ourselves should cause us to dream or that the dream foretells the future prophetically. But if we translate this into the language of psychology, the ancient idea becomes much more comprehensible. The dream, we would say, originates in an unknown part of the psyche and prepares the dreamer for the events of the following day.

6 According to the old belief, a god or demon spoke to the sleeper in symbolic language, and the dream interpreter had to solve the riddle. In modern speech we would say that the dream is a series of images which are apparently contradictory and meaningless, but that it contains material which yields a clear meaning when properly translated.

stock of the cannon, with Constantine's motto above it: "*In hoc signo vinces*." The sexual symbolism of this dream is sufficiently obvious to justify the indignant surprise of all innocent-minded people. If it so happens that this kind of realization is entirely new to the dreamer, thus filling a gap in her conscious orientation, we can say that the dream has in effect been interpreted. But if the dreamer has known this interpretation all along, then it is nothing more than a repetition whose purpose we cannot ascertain. Dreams and dream-motifs of this nature can repeat themselves in a never-ending series without our being able to discover—at any rate from the sexual side—anything in them except what we know already and are sick and tired of knowing. This kind of approach inevitably leads to that "unnoting" of interpretation of which Freud himself complained. In these cases we may justly suspect that the sexual symbolism is as good a *façon de parler* as any other and is being used as a dream-language. "*Canis panem somniat, piscator pisces*." Even dream-language ultimately degenerates into jargon. The only exception to this is in cases where a particular motif or a whole dream repeats itself because it has never been properly understood, and because it is necessary for the conscious mind to reorient itself by recognizing the compensation which the motif or dream expresses. In the above dream it is certainly a case either of ordinary unconsciousness, or of repression. One can therefore interpret it sexually and leave it at that, without going into all the niceties of the symbolism. The words with which the dream ends—"In hoc signo vinces"—point to a deeper meaning, but this level could only be reached if the dreamer became conscious enough to admit the existence of an erotic conflict.

10 These few references to the symbolic nature of dreams must suffice. We must accept dream symbolism as an accomplished fact if we wish to treat this astonishing truth with the necessary degree of seriousness. It is indeed astonishing that the conscious activity of the psyche should be influenced by products which seem to obey quite other laws and to follow purposes very different from those of the conscious mind.

11 How is it that dreams are symbolical at all? In other words, whence comes this capacity for symbolic representation, of which we can discover no trace in our conscious thinking? Let us examine the matter a little more closely. If we analyse a train of thought, we find that we begin with an "initial" idea, or a

'leading' idea, and then, without thinking back to it each time, but merely guided by a sense of direction, we pass on to a series of separate ideas that all hang together. There is nothing symbolical in this and our whole conscious thinking proceeds along these lines.¹ If we scrutinize our thinking more closely still and follow out an intensive train of thought—the solution of a difficult problem, for instance—we suddenly notice that we are *thinking in words*, that in very intensive thinking we begin talking to ourselves, or that we occasionally write down the problem or make a drawing of it so as to be absolutely clear. Anyone who has lived for some time in a foreign country will certainly have noticed that after a while he begins to think in the language of that country. Any very intensive train of thought works itself out more or less in verbal form—if, that is to say, one wants to express it, or teach it or convince someone of it. It is evidently directed outwards, to the outside world. To that extent, directed or logical thinking is reality thinking,² a thinking that is adapted to reality,³ by means of which we imitate the successiveness of objectively real things so that the images inside our mind follow one another in the same strictly causal sequence as the events taking place outside it.⁴ We also call this 'thinking with directed attention'. It has in addition the peculiarity of causing fatigue, and is for that reason brought

¹ Cf. Liepmann *Über Ideenflucht* also my *Studies in Word Association* (1918/19 edn. p. 145). For thinking as subordination to a ruling idea cf. Ebbinghaus in *Kultur der Gegenwart* pp. 221ff. Kuelpe (*Outlines of Psychology* p. 447) expresses himself in a similar manner: in thinking we find an anticipatory apperception which covers a more or less extensive circle of individual reproductions and differs from a group of accidental incentives to reproduction only in the consistency with which all ideas outside the circle are checked or suppressed.

² In his *Psychologia empirica* ch. II § 23 p. 16, Christian Wolff says simply and precisely: *Cogitatio est actus animae quo sibi sui rerumque aliarum extra se conscia est*. (Thinking is an act of the soul whereby it becomes conscious of itself and of other things outside itself.)

³ The element of anticipation is particularly stressed by William James in his definition of logical thinking (*Principles of Psychology* II p. 330). Let us make it is ability to deal with novel data the technical differentia of reasoning. This will sufficiently mark it out from common associative thinking.

⁴ Thoughts are shadows of our feelings always darker emptier and simpler than these says Nietzsche *Lezge* (*Logic* p. 52) remarks in this connection: 'Thinking if left to the logical laws of its own movement coincides once more at the end of its correct trajectory with the behaviour of objectively real things.'

into play for short periods only. The whole laborious achievement of our lives is adaptation to reality, part of which consists in directed thinking. In biological terms it is simply a process of psychic assimilation that leaves behind a corresponding state of exhaustion, like any other vital achievement.

¹² The material with which we think is *language* and *verbal concepts*—something which from time immemorial has been directed outwards and used as a bridge, and which has but a single purpose, namely that of communication. So long as we think directedly, we think *for* others and speak *to* others.⁵ Language was originally a system of emotive and imitative sounds—sounds which express terror, fear, anger, love, etc., and sounds which imitate the noises of the elements: the rushing and gurgling of water, the rolling of thunder, the roaring of the wind, the cries of the animal world, and so on; and lastly, those which represent a combination of the sound perceived and the emotional reaction to it.⁶ A large number of onomatopoeic vestiges remain even in the more modern languages; note, for instance, the sounds for running water: *rauschen, rieseln, rüschien, rinnen, rennen, rush, river, ruscello, ruisseau, Rhein*. And note *Wasser, wissen, wissern, pissen, piscis, Fisch*.

¹³ Thus, language, in its origin and essence, is simply a system of signs or symbols that denote real occurrences or their echo in the human soul.⁷ We must emphatically agree with Anatole France when he says:

What is thinking? And how does one think? We think with words: that in itself is sensual and brings us back to nature. Think of it! a metaphysician has nothing with which to build his world system except the perfected cries of monkeys and dogs. What he calls profound speculation and transcendental method is merely the stringing together, in an arbitrary order, of onomatopoeic cries of hunger,

⁵ Cf. Baldwin's remarks quoted below. The eccentric philosopher Johann Georg Hamann (1730-88) actually equates reason with language (See Hamann's writings, pub. 1821-43.) With Nietzsche reason fares even worse as "linguistic metaphysics." Friedrich Mauthner goes the furthest in this direction (*Sprache und Psychologie*), for him there is absolutely no thought without speech, and only speaking is thinking. His idea of the "word fetishism" that dominates science is worth noting.

⁶ Cf. Kleinpaul, *Das Leben der Sprache*.
⁷ My small son gave me an explicit example of the subjectivity of such symbols, which originally seem to belong entirely to the subject. He described everything he wanted to take or eat with an energetic "stò ldi" (Swiss German for "leave it!")

fear, and love from the primeval forests to which have become attached little by little meanings that are believed to be abstract merely because they are loosely used. Have no fear that the succession of little cries extinct or enfeebled that composes a book of philosophy will teach us so much about the universe that we can no longer go on living in it.⁸

¹⁴ So our directed thinking even though we be the loneliest thinkers in the world, is nothing but the first stirrings of a cry to our companions that water has been found or the bear been killed or that a storm is approaching or that wolves are prowling round the camp. There is a striking paradox of Abelard's which intuitively expresses the human limitations of our complicated thought process. Speech is generated by the intellect and in turn generates intellect. The most abstract system of philosophy is in its method and purpose, nothing more than an extremely ingenious combination of natural sounds.⁹ Hence the craving of a Schopenhauer or a Nietzsche for recognition and understanding and the despair and bitterness of their loneliness. One might expect perhaps that a man of genius would luxuriate in the greatness of his own thoughts and renounce the cheap approbation of the rabble he despises yet he succumbs to the more powerful impulse of the herd instinct. His seeking and his finding his heart's cry are meant for the herd and must be heeded by them. When I said just now that directed thinking is really thinking in words and quoted that amusing testimony of Anatole France as drastic proof this might easily give rise to the misunderstanding that directed thinking is after all only a matter of words. That would certainly be going too far. Language must be taken in a wider sense than speech for speech is only the outward flow of thoughts formulated for communication. Were it otherwise the

⁸ *Le Jardin d'Epicure* p. 80

⁹ It is difficult to estimate how great is the seductive influence of primitive word meanings on our thinking. Everything that has ever been in consciousness remains as an active element in the unconscious says Hermann Paul (*Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* p. 25). The old word meanings continue to have an effect which is imperceptible at first and proceeds "from that dark chamber of the unconscious in the soul" (*ibid*). Hamann states emphatically (*Schriften* VII p. 8). Metaphysics misuses all the verbal signs and figures of speech based on empirical knowledge and reduces them to empty hieroglyphs and types of ideal relationships. Kant is supposed to have learnt a thing or two from Hamann.

deaf-mute would be extremely limited in his thinking capacity, which is not the case at all. Without any knowledge of the spoken word, he too has his "language." Historically speaking, this ideal language, this directed thinking, is derived from primitive words, as Wundt has explained:

A further important consequence of the interaction of sound and meaning is that many words come to lose their original concrete significance altogether, and turn into signs for general ideas expressive of the apperceptive functions of relating and comparing, and their products. In this way abstract thought develops, which, because it would not be possible without the underlying changes of meaning, is itself the product of those psychic and psychophysical interchanges in which the development of language consists.¹⁰

¹⁵ Jodl¹¹ rejects the identity of language and thought on the ground that the same psychic fact can be expressed in different ways in different languages. From this he infers the existence of a "supra linguistic" type of thinking. No doubt there is such a thing, whether one elects to call it "supra-linguistic" with Jodl or "hypological" with Erdmann. Only, it is not logical thinking. My views coincide with those of Baldwin, who says:

The transition from pre-judgmental to judgmental meaning is just that from knowledge which has social confirmation to that which gets along without it. The meanings utilized for judgment are those already developed in their presuppositions and implications through the confirmations of social intercourse. Thus the personal judgment, trained in the methods of social rendering, and disciplined by the interaction of its social world, projects its content into that world again. In other words, the platform for all movement into the assertion of individual judgment—the level from which new experience is utilized—is *already and always socialized*; and it is just this movement that we find reflected in the actual result as the sense of the "appropriateness" or synonomic character of the meaning rendered. . . .

Now the development of thought, as we are to see in more detail, is by a method essentially of trial and error, of experimentation, of *the use of meanings as worth more than they are as yet recognized to be worth*. The individual must use his old thoughts, his established knowledge, his grounded judgments, for the embodiment of

¹⁰ *Grundriss der Psychologie*, pp 363-64

¹¹ *Lehrbuch der Psychologie*, II, ch. 10, par 26, p. 260.

his new inventive constructions. He erects his thought as we say 'schematically—in logical terms problematically, conditionally disjunctively—projecting into the world in opinion still personal to himself as if it were true. Thus all discovery proceeds. But this is from the linguistic point of view still to use the current language still to work by meanings already embodied in social and conventional usage.

By this experimentation both thought and language are together advanced.

Language grows therefore just as thought does *by never losing its synnomic or dual reference* its meaning is both personal and social.

Language is the register of tradition the record of racial conquest the deposit of all the gains made by the genius of individuals.

The social copy system thus established reflects the judgmental processes of the race and in turn becomes the training school of the judgment of new generations.

Most of the training of the self whereby the vagaries of personal reaction to fact and image are reduced to the funded basis of sound judgment comes through the use of speech. When the child speaks he lays before the world his suggestion for a general or common meaning the reception it gets confirms or refutes him. In either case he is instructed. His next venture is from a platform of knowledge on which the newer item is more nearly convertible into the common coin of effective intercourse. The point to notice here is not so much the exact mechanism of the exchange—secondary conversion—by which this gain is made as the training in judgment that the constant use of it affords. In each case effective judgment is the common judgment. Here the object is to point out that it is secured by the development of a function *whose rise is directly ad hoc* —the function of speech.

In language therefore to sum up the foregoing we have the tangible—the actual and historical—instrument of the development and conservation of psychic meaning. It is the material evidence and proof of *the concurrence of social and personal judgment*. In its synnomic meaning judged as appropriate becomes social meaning, held as socially generalized and acknowledged.¹²

¹⁶ Baldwin's argument lays ample stress on the limitations imposed on thought by language¹³ which are of the greatest

¹² Baldwin *Thought and Things* II pp. 135ff.

¹³ In this connection I would mention the experimental investigations into the linguistic components of association (1908) made by Eberschweiler [q.v. Bibliog.]

importance both subjectively and objectively, i.e., psychologically and socially—so great, indeed, that we must ask ourselves whether the sceptical Mauthner¹⁴ was not right in his view that thinking is speech and nothing more. Baldwin is more cautious and reserved, but at bottom he is plainly in favour of the primacy of speech.

- ¹⁷ Directed thinking or, as we might also call it, *thinking in words*, is manifestly an instrument of culture, and we shall not be wrong in saying that the tremendous work of education which past centuries have devoted to directed thinking, thereby forcing it to develop from the subjective, individual sphere to the objective, social sphere, has produced a readjustment of the human mind to which we owe our modern empiricism and technics. These are absolutely new developments in the history of the world and were unknown to earlier ages. Inquiring minds have often wrestled with the question of why the first-rate knowledge which the ancients undoubtedly had of mathematics, mechanics, and physics, coupled with their matchless craftsmanship, was never applied to developing the rudimentary techniques already known to them (e.g., the principles of simple machines) into a real technology in the modern sense of the word, and why they never got beyond the stage of inventing amusing curiosities. There is only one answer to this: the ancients, with a few illustrious exceptions, entirely lacked the capacity to concentrate their interest on the transformations of inanimate matter and to reproduce the natural process artificially, by which means alone they could have gained control of the forces of nature. What they lacked was training in directed thinking.¹⁵ The secret of cultural development is the *mobility and disposability of psychic energy*. Directed thinking, as we know it today, is a more or less modern acquisition which earlier ages lacked.

raphy] at my request, which disclose the remarkable fact that during an association experiment the intrapsychic association is influenced by phonetic considerations. ¹⁴ See n 5 above

¹⁵ There was as a matter of fact no external compulsion which would have made technical thinking necessary. The labour question was solved by an endless supply of cheap slaves, so that efforts to save labour were superfluous. We must also remember that the interest of the man of antiquity was turned in quite another direction: he revered the divine cosmos, a quality which is entirely lacking in our technological age.

18 This brings us to a further question. What happens when we do not think directedly? Well, our thinking then lacks all leading ideas and the sense of direction emanating from them.¹⁶ We no longer compel our thoughts along a definite track but let them float, sink or rise according to their specific gravity. In Kuelpe's view¹⁷ thinking is a sort of inner act of the will and its absence necessarily leads to an automatic play of ideas. William James regards non directed thinking or merely associative thinking as the ordinary kind. He expresses himself as follows:

Much of our thinking consists of trains of images suggested one by another of a sort of spontaneous reverie of which it seems likely enough that the higher brutes should be capable. This sort of thinking leads nevertheless to rational conclusions both practical and theoretical.

As a rule in this sort of irresponsible thinking the terms which come to be coupled together are empirical concretes not abstractions.¹⁸

19 We can supplement James's definitions by saying that this sort of thinking does not tire us: that it leads away from reality into fantasies of the past or future. At this point thinking in verbal form ceases: image piles on image, feeling on feeling.¹⁹

¹⁶ So at least it appears to the conscious mind. Freud (*The Interpretation of Dreams* II p. 528) says in this connection: "For it is demonstrably untrue that we are being carried along a purposeless stream of ideas when in the process of interpreting a dream we abandon reflection and allow involuntary ideas to emerge. It can be shown that all we can ever get rid of are purposive ideas that are known to us as soon as we have done this unknown—or as we inaccurately say unconscious—purposive ideas take charge and thereafter determine the course of the involuntary ideas. No influence that we can bring to bear upon our mental processes can ever enable us to think without purposive ideas nor am I aware of any states of psychological confusion which can do so."

¹⁷ *Outlines* p. 438.

¹⁸ *Principles* II p. 32.

¹⁹ This statement is based primarily on experiences derived from the field of normal psychology. Indeed the thinking is very far removed from "reflective" particularly where readiness of speech is concerned. In psychological experiments I have frequently found that subjects I am speaking only of cultivated and intelligent people—I am also led to believe in reveries as though unintentionally and without previous instruction exhibited affects which could be registered experimentally but that with the best will in the world they could express the underlying thought only very imperfectly or not at all. More instructive are experiences

and there is an ever-increasing tendency to shuffle things about and arrange them not as they are in reality but as one would like them to be. Naturally enough, the stuff of this thinking which shies away from reality can only be the past with its thousand-and-one memory images. Common speech calls this kind of thinking "dreaming."

²⁰ Anyone who observes himself attentively will find that the idioms of common speech are very much to the point, for almost every day we can see for ourselves, when falling asleep, how our fantasies get woven into our dreams, so that between day-dreaming and night dreaming there is not much difference. We have, therefore, two kinds of thinking: directed thinking, and dreaming or fantasy thinking. The former operates with speech elements for the purpose of communication, and is difficult and exhausting; the latter is effortless, working as it were spontaneously, with the contents ready to hand, and guided by unconscious motives. The one produces innovations and adaptation, copies reality, and tries to act upon it; the other turns away from reality, sets free subjective tendencies, and, as regards adaptation, is unproductive.²⁰

of a pathological nature, not so much those arising in the field of hysteria and the various neuroses, which are characterized by an overwhelming transference tendency, as experiences connected with introversion neurosis or psychosis, which must be regarded as constituting by far the greater number of mental disturbances, at any rate the whole of Bleuler's schizophrenic group. As already indicated by the term "introversion" (which I cursorily introduced in 1910, in my 'Psychic Conflicts in a Child,' pp. 13 and 16 [*Collected Works*, Vol. 17]) this type of neurosis leads to an isolated inner life. And here we meet with that 'supra linguistic' or pure 'fantasy thinking' which moves in 'inexpressible' images and feelings. You get some idea of this when you try to find out the meaning of the pitiful and muddled expressions used by these people. As I have often observed, it costs these patients endless trouble and effort to put their fantasies into ordinary human speech. A highly intelligent patient, who "translated" such a fantasy system for me piecemeal, used to say to me: "I know quite well what it's all about, I can see and feel everything, but it is quite impossible for me to find the right words for it."

²⁰ Similarly James, *Principles*, II, pp. 325-26. Reasoning is productive, whereas 'empirical' (merely associative) thinking is only reproductive. This opinion, however, is not altogether satisfying. It is no doubt true that fantasy thinking is not immediately productive, i.e., is unadapted and therefore useless for all practical purposes. But in the long run the play of fantasy uncovers creative forces and contents, just as dreams do. Such contents cannot as a rule be realized except through passive, associative, and fantasy thinking.

²¹ As I have indicated above, history shows that directed thinking was not always as developed as it is today. The clearest expression of modern directed thinking is science and the techniques fostered by it. Both owe their existence simply and solely to energetic training in directed thinking. Yet at the time when the forerunners of our present day culture, such as the poet Petrarch, were just beginning to approach nature in a spirit of understanding,²¹ an equivalent of our science already existed in scholasticism.²² This took its subjects from fantasies of the past, but it gave the mind a dialectical training in directed thinking. The one goal of success that shone before the thinker was rhetorical victory in disputation, and not the visible transformation of reality. The subjects he thought about were often unbelievably fantastic; for instance, it was debated how many angels could stand on the point of a needle, whether Christ could have performed his work of redemption had he come into the world in the shape of a pea, etc., etc. The fact that these problems could be posed at all—and the stock unetaphysical problem of how to know the unknowable comes into this category—proves how peculiar the medieval mind must have been, that it could contrive questions which for us are the height of

²¹ Cf. the impressive description of Petrarch's ascent of Mt. Ventoux, in Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, pp. 180-81. "A description of the view from the summit would be looked for in vain not because the poet was insensible to it, but on the contrary, because the impression was too overwhelming. His whole past life, with all its follies rose before his mind, he remembered that ten years ago that day he had quitted Bologna a young man and turned a longing gaze towards his native country, he opened a book which was then his constant companion the *Confessions of St. Augustine*, and his eye fell on the passage in the tenth chapter 'and men go forth and admire lofty mountains and broad seas, and roaring torrents, and the ocean and the course of the stars, and turn away from themselves while doing so.' His brother, to whom he read these words, could not understand why he closed the book and said no more."

²² Wundt gives a short account of the scholastic method in his *Philosophische Studien* (XIII, p. 335). The method consisted "firstly, in regarding as the chief aim of scientific investigation the discovery of a firmly established conceptual scheme capable of being applied in a uniform manner to the most varied problems; secondly, in laying an inordinate value upon certain general concepts and consequently upon the verbal symbols designating these concepts, as a result of which an analysis of the meanings of words or, in extreme cases a vapid intellectual subtlety and splitting of hairs comes to replace an investigation of the real facts from which the concepts are abstracted."

absurdity. Nietzsche glimpsed something of the background of this phenomenon when he spoke of the "glorious tension of mind" which the Middle Ages produced.

²² On a historical view, the scholastic spirit in which men of the intellectual calibre of St. Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, Abelard, William of Ockham, and others worked is the mother of our modern scientific method, and future generations will see clearly how far scholasticism still nourishes the science of today with living undercurrents. It consisted essentially in a dialectical gymnastics which gave the symbol of speech, the word, an absolute meaning, so that words came in the end to have a substantiality with which the ancients could invest their Logos only by attributing to it a mystical value. The great achievement of scholasticism was that it laid the foundations of a solidly built intellectual function, the *sine qua non* of modern science and technology.

²³ If we go still further back into history, we find what we call science dissolving in an indistinct mist. The culture-creating mind is ceaselessly employed in stripping experience of everything subjective, and in devising formulas to harness the forces of nature and express them in the best way possible. It would be a ridiculous and unwarranted presumption on our part if we imagined that we were more energetic or more intelligent than the men of the past—our material knowledge has increased, but not our intelligence. This means that we are just as bigoted in regard to new ideas, and just as impervious to them, as people were in the darkest days of antiquity. We have become rich in knowledge, but poor in wisdom. The centre of gravity of our interest has switched over to the materialistic side, whereas the ancients preferred a mode of thought nearer to the fantastic type. To the classical mind everything was still saturated with mythology, even though classical philosophy and the beginnings of natural science undeniably prepared the way for the work of "enlightenment."

²⁴ Unfortunately, we get at school only a very feeble idea of the richness and tremendous vitality of Greek mythology. All the creative power that modern man pours into science and technics the man of antiquity devoted to his myths. This creative urge explains the bewildering confusion, the kaleidoscopic changes and syncretistic regroupings, the continual rejuvenation, of

myths in Greek culture. We move in a world of fantasies which, untroubled by the outward course of things, well up from an inner source to produce an ever changing succession of plastic or phantasmal forms. This activity of the early classical mind was in the highest degree artistic: the goal of its interest does not seem to have been how to understand the real world as objectively and accurately as possible, but how to adapt it aesthetically to subjective fantasies and expectations. There was very little room among the ancients for that coldness and disillusionment which Giordano Bruno's vision of infinite worlds and Kepler's discoveries brought to mankind. The naive man of antiquity saw the sun as the great Father of heaven and earth, and the moon as the fruitful Mother. Everything had its demon, was animated like a human being, or like his brothers the animals. Everything was conceived anthropomorphically or theriomorphically, in the likeness of man or beast. Even the sun's disc was given wings or little feet to illustrate its motion (pl. 16). Thus there arose a picture of the universe which was completely removed from reality, but which corresponded exactly to man's subjective fantasies. It needs no very elaborate proof to show that children think in much the same way. They too animate their dolls and toys, and with imaginative children it is easy to see that they inhabit a world of marvels.

- 25 We also know that the same kind of thinking is exhibited in dreams. The most heterogeneous things are brought together regardless of the actual conditions, and a world of impossibilities takes the place of reality. Freud finds that the hallmark of waking thought is *progression*: the advance of the thought stimulus from the systems of inner or outer perception through the endopsychic work of association to its motor end, i.e., innervation. In dreams he finds the reverse: regression of the thought stimulus from the pre-conscious or unconscious sphere to the perceptual system, which gives the dream its peculiar atmosphere of sensuous clarity, rising at times to almost hallucinatory vividness. Dream thinking thus regresses back to the raw material of memory. As Freud says, "In regression the fabric of the dream thoughts is resolved into its raw material."²³ The reactivation of original perceptions is, however, only one side of regression. The other side is regression to infantile memories,

²³ *The Interpretation of Dreams*, II, p. 513

and though this might equally well be called regression to the original perceptions, it nevertheless deserves special mention because it has an importance of its own. It might even be considered as an "historical" regression. In this sense the dream can, with Freud, be described as a modified memory—modified through being projected into the present. The original scene of the memory is unable to effect its own revival, so has to be content with returning as a dream.²⁴ In Freud's view it is an essential characteristic of dreams to "elaborate" memories that mostly go back to early childhood, that is, to bring them nearer to the present and recast them in its language. But, in so far as infantile psychic life cannot deny its archaic character, the latter quality is the especial peculiarity of dreams. Freud expressly draws attention to this:

Dreams, which fulfil their wishes along the short path of regression, have merely preserved for us in that respect a sample of the psychical apparatus's primary method of working, a method which was abandoned as being inefficient. What once dominated waking life, while the mind was still young and incompetent, seems now to have been banished into the night—just as the primitive weapons, the bows and arrows, that have been abandoned by adult men, turn up once more in the nursery.²⁵

²⁶ These considerations ²⁵ tempt us to draw a parallel between the mythological thinking of ancient man and the similar think-

²⁴ Ibid. p. 546 ²⁵ Ibid., p. 567.

²⁶ The passage in *The Interpretation of Dreams* that follows immediately afterwards has since been confirmed through investigation of the psychoses. "These methods of working on the part of the psychical apparatus, which are normally suppressed in waking hours, become current once more in psychosis and then reveal their incapacity for satisfying our needs in relation to the external world" (ibid., p. 567). The importance of this sentence is borne out by the views of Pierre Janet, which were developed independently of Freud and deserve mention here because they confirm it from an entirely different angle, namely the biological side. Janet distinguishes in the function a firmly organized "inferior" part and a "superior" part that is in a state of continuous transformation: "It is precisely on this 'superior' part of the functions, on their adaptation to existing circumstances, that the neuroses depend. . . . Neuroses are disturbances or checks in the evolution of the functions. . . . Neuroses are maladies dependent on the various functions of the organism and are characterized by an alteration in the superior parts of these functions, which are checked in their evolution, in their adaptation to the present moment and the existing state of the external world and

ing found in children,²⁷ primitives, and in dreams. This idea is not at all strange, we know it quite well from comparative anatomy and from evolution, which show that the structure and function of the human body are the result of a series of embryonic mutations corresponding to similar mutations in our racial history. The supposition that there may also be in psychology a correspondence between ontogenesis and phylogenesis therefore seems justified. If this is so it would mean that infantile thinking²⁸ and dream thinking are simply a recapitulation of earlier evolutionary stages.

²⁷ In this regard, Nietzsche takes up an attitude well worth noting.

In sleep and in dreams we pass through the whole thought of earlier humanity. What I mean is this: as man now reasons in dreams, so humanity also reasoned for many thousands of years when awake: the first cause which occurred to the mind as an explanation of anything that required explanation was sufficient and passed for truth. This atavistic element in man's nature still manifests itself in our dreams, for it is the foundation upon which the higher reason has developed and still develops in every individual. Dreams carry us back to remote conditions of human culture and give us a ready means of understanding them better. Dream thinking comes so easily to us now because this form of fantastic and facile explanation in terms of the first random idea has been drilled

of the individual while there is no deterioration in the older parts of these same functions. In place of these superior operations some degree of physical and mental disturbance develops—above all emotionality. This is nothing but the tendency to replace the superior operations by an exaggeration of certain inferior operations and particularly by gross visceral disturbances" (*Les Névroses* pp. 386ff). The older parts are the same as the inferior parts of the functions and they replace the abortive attempts at adaptation. Similar views concerning the nature of neurotic symptoms are expressed by Claparède (p. 169). He regards the hysterogenic mechanism as a *tendance à la réversion*—a kind of atavistic reaction. ²⁷ I am indebted to Dr. Abraham for the following story: "A small girl of three and a half had been presented with a baby bottle, who soon became the object of well known childish jealousy. One day she said to her mother: 'You are two Mamas. You are my Mama and your breast is little brother's Mama.' She had just been observing with great interest the act of suckling. It is characteristic of the archaic thinking of the child to call the breast 'Mama' [so in the original—Errors] *Mamma* is Latin for breast."

²⁸ Cf. particularly Freud's "Analysis of a Phobia in a Five year old Boy" and my "Psychic Conflicts in a Child."

into us for immense periods of time. To that extent dreaming is a recreation for the brain, which by day has to satisfy the stern demands of thought imposed by a higher culture. . . .

From this we can see how *lately* the more acute logical thinking, the strict discrimination of cause and effect, has been developed, since our rational and intellectual faculties still involuntarily hark back to those primitive forms of reasoning, and we pass about half our lives in this condition.²⁹

²⁸ Freud, as we have seen, reached similar conclusions regarding the archaic nature of dream-thinking on the basis of dream-analysis. It is therefore not such a great step to the view that myths are dreamlike structures. Freud himself puts it as follows: "The study of constructions of folk-psychology such as these is far from being complete, but it is extremely probable that myths, for instance, are distorted vestiges of the wishful phantasies of whole nations, the [age long] dreams of youthful humanity."³⁰ In the same way Rank³¹ regards myth as the collective dream of a whole people.³²

²⁹ Riklin has drawn attention to the dream mechanism in fairytales,³³ and Abraham has done the same for myths. He says: "The myth is a fragment of the superseded infantile psychic life of the race"; and again: "The myth is therefore a fragment preserved from the infantile psychic life of the race, and dreams are the myths of the individual."³⁴ The conclusion that the myth-makers thought in much the same way as we still think in dreams is almost self evident. The first attempts at myth-making can, of course, be observed in children, whose games of make-believe often contain historical echoes. But one must certainly put a large question mark after the assertion that myths spring from the "infantile" psychic life of the race. They are on the contrary the most mature product of that young humanity. Just as those first fishy ancestors of man, with their gill-slits, were not embryos, but fully developed creatures, so the myth-making and myth inhabiting man was a grown reality and not a four-year old child. Myth is certainly not an infantile

²⁹ *Human, All Too Human*, trans by Zimmern and Cohn, I, pp 24-27, modified
³⁰ "Creative Writers and Day Dreaming," p 152, mod
³¹ *Der Künstler*, p 36.

³² Cf also Rank, *The Birth of the Hero*

³³ *Wishfulfilment and Symbolism in Fairy Tales*

³⁴ Abraham, *Dreams and Myths*, pp 36 and 72, modified.

phantasm, but one of the most important requisites of primitive life

50 It might be objected that the mythological proclivities of children are implanted by education. This objection is futile. Has mankind ever really got away from myths? Everyone who has his eyes and wits about him can see that the world is dead cold, and unending. Never yet has he beheld a God or been compelled to require the existence of such a God from the evidence of his senses. On the contrary, it needed the strongest inner compulsion which can only be explained by the irrational force of instinct, for man to invent those religious beliefs whose absurdity was long since pointed out by Tertullian. In the same way one can withhold the material content of primitive myths from a child but not take from him the need for mythology, and still less his ability to manufacture it for himself. One could almost say that if all the world's traditions were cut off at a single blow, the whole of mythology and the whole history of religion would start all over again with the next generation. Only a very few individuals succeed in throwing off mythology in epochs of exceptional intellectual exuberance—the masses never. Enlightenment avails nothing: it merely destroys a transitory manifestation but not the creative impulse.

51 Let us now turn back to our earlier reflections.

52 We were speaking of the ontogenetic recapitulation of phylogenetic psychology in children and we saw that archaic thinking is a peculiarity of children and primitives. We now know that this same thinking also occupies a large place in modern man and appears as soon as directed thinking ceases. Any lessening of interest or the slightest fatigue is enough to put an end to the delicate psychological adaptation to reality which is expressed through directed thinking and to replace it by fantasies. We wander from the subject and let our thoughts go their own way: if the slackening of attention continues we gradually lose all sense of the present and fantasy gains the upper hand.

53 At this point the important question arises: How are fantasies made and what is their nature? From the poets we learn much, from scientists little. It was the psychotherapists who first began to throw light on the subject. They showed that fantasies go in typical cycles. The stammerer fancies himself a great

orator, which actually came true in the case of Demosthenes, thanks to his enormous energy; the poor man fancies himself a millionaire, the child a grown-up. The oppressed wage victorious war on the oppressor, the failure torments or amuses himself with ambitious schemes. All seek compensation through fantasy.

- 34 But just where do the fantasies get their material? Let us take as an example a typical adolescent fantasy. Faced by the vast uncertainty of the future, the adolescent puts the blame for it on the past, saying to himself: "If only I were not the child of my very ordinary parents, but the child of a rich and elegant count and had merely been brought up by foster-parents, then one day a golden coach would come and the count would take his long lost child back with him to his wonderful castle," and so on, just as in a Grimms' fairy-story which a mother tells to her children. With a normal child the fantasy stops short at the fleeting idea, which is soon over and forgotten. There was a time, however, in the ancient world, when the fantasy was a legitimate truth that enjoyed universal recognition. The heroes—Romulus and Remus (pl. 11), Moses, Semiramis, and many others—were foundlings whose real parents had lost them.³⁵ Others were directly descended from the gods, and the noble families traced their descent from the heroes and gods of old. Hence the fantasy of our adolescent is simply a re-echo of an ancient folk-belief which was once very widespread. The fantasy of ambition therefore chooses, among other things, a classical form which at one time had real validity. The same is true of certain erotic fantasies. Earlier on we mentioned the dream of sexual assault: the robber who breaks in and does something dangerous. That too is a mythological theme and in days gone by was undoubtedly a reality.³⁶ Quite apart from the fact that rape was a common occurrence in prehistoric times, it was also a popular theme of mythology in more civilized epochs. One has only to think of the rape of Persephone, of Deianira, Europa, and of the Sabine women. Nor should we forget that in many parts of the earth there are

³⁵ Rank, *The Birth of the Hero*, also Kerényi, "The Primordial Child," in Jung and Kerényi, *Science of Mythology*, pp. 38f (1963 edn., pp. 27ff)

³⁶ For the mythological rape of the bride, cf. id., "Kore," pp. 170ff (122ff)

marriage customs existing today which recall the ancient marriage by capture

35 One could give countless examples of this kind. They would all prove the same thing, namely that what, with us, is a subterranean fantasy was once open to the light of day. What, with us, crops up only in dreams and fantasies was once either a conscious custom or a general belief. But what was once strong enough to mould the spiritual life of a highly developed people will not have vanished without trace from the human soul in the course of a few generations. We must remember that a mere eighty generations separate us from the Golden Age of Greek culture. And what are eighty generations? They shrink to an almost imperceptible span when compared with the enormous stretch of time that separates us from Neanderthal or Heidelberg man. I would like in this connection to call attention to the pointed remarks of the great historian Ferrero:

It is a very common belief that the further man is separated from the present in time, the more he differs from us in his thoughts and feelings, that the psychology of humanity changes from century to century, like fashions or literature. Therefore no sooner do we find in past history an institution, a custom, a law, or a belief a little different from those with which we are familiar, than we immediately search for all manner of complicated explanations, which more often than not resolve themselves into phrases of no very precise significance. And indeed, man does not change so quickly: his psychology at bottom remains the same and even if his culture varies much from one epoch to another, it does not change the functioning of his mind. The fundamental laws of the mind remain the same at least during the short historical periods of which we have knowledge, and nearly all the phenomena, even the most strange, must be capable of explanation by those common laws of the mind which we can recognize in ourselves.³⁷

5 The psychologist should accept this view without qualification. The Dionysian phallagogies, the chthonic mysteries of classical Athens, have vanished from our civilization, and the theriomorphic representations of the gods have dwindled to mere vestiges, like the Dove, the Lamb and the Cock adorning our church towers. Yet all this does not alter the fact that in childhood we go through a phase when archaic thinking and

³⁷ Ferrero, *Les Lois psychologiques* p. vii

feeling once more rise up in us, and that all through our lives we possess, side by side with our newly acquired directed and adapted thinking, a fantasy-thinking which corresponds to the antique state of mind. Just as our bodies still retain vestiges of obsolete functions and conditions in many of their organs, so our minds, which have apparently outgrown those archaic impulses, still bear the marks of the evolutionary stages we have traversed, and re echo the dim bygone in dreams and fantasies.

37 The question of where the mind's aptitude for symbolical expression comes from brings us to the distinction between the two kinds of thinking—the directed and adapted on the one hand, and the subjective, which is actuated by inner motives, on the other. The latter form, if not constantly corrected by adapted thinking, is bound to produce an overwhelmingly subjective and distorted picture of the world. This state of mind has been described in the first place as infantile and autoerotic, or, with Bleuler, as "autistic," which clearly expresses the view that the subjective picture, judged from the standpoint of adaptation, is inferior to that of directed thinking. The ideal instance of autism is found in schizophrenia, whereas infantile autoeroticism is more characteristic of neurosis. Such a view brings a perfectly normal process like non directed fantasy-thinking dangerously close to the pathological, and this must be ascribed less to the cynicism of doctors than to the circumstance that it was the doctors who were the first to evaluate this type of thinking. Non directed thinking is in the main subjectively motivated, and not so much by conscious motives as—far more—by unconscious ones. It certainly produces a world-picture very different from that of conscious, directed thinking. But there is no real ground for assuming that it is nothing more than a distortion of the objective world-picture, for it remains to be asked whether the mainly unconscious inner motive which guides these fantasy-processes is not itself an *objective fact*. Freud himself has pointed out on more than one occasion how much unconscious motives are grounded on instinct, which is certainly an objective fact. Equally, he half admitted their archaic nature.

38 The unconscious bases of dreams and fantasies are only apparently infantile reminiscences. In reality we are concerned with primitive or archaic thought forms, based on instinct.

which naturally emerge more clearly in childhood than they do later. But they are not in themselves infantile, much less pathological. To characterize them, we ought therefore not to use expressions borrowed from pathology. So also the myth, which is likewise based on unconscious fantasy-processes, is, in meaning, substance, and form, far from being infantile or the expression of an autoerotic or autistic attitude, even though it produces a world picture which is scarcely consistent with our rational and objective view of things. The instinctive, archaic basis of the mind is a matter of plain objective fact and is no more dependent upon individual experience or personal choice than is the inherited structure and functioning of the brain or any other organ. Just as the body has its evolutionary history and shows clear traces of the various evolutionary stages, so too does the psyche.³⁹

Whereas directed thinking is an altogether conscious phenomenon,⁴⁰ the same cannot be said of fantasy-thinking. Much of it belongs to the conscious sphere, but at least as much goes on in the half-shadow, or entirely in the unconscious, and can therefore be inferred only indirectly.⁴¹ Through fantasy-thinking, directed thinking is brought into contact with the oldest layers of the human mind, long buried beneath the threshold of consciousness. The fantasy-products directly engaging the conscious mind are, first of all, waking dreams or daydreams, to which Freud, Flournoy, Pick, and others have devoted special attention; then ordinary dreams, which present to the conscious mind a baffling exterior and only make sense on the basis of indirectly inferred unconscious contents. Finally, in split off complexes there are completely unconscious fantasy systems that have a marked tendency to constitute themselves as separate personalities.⁴²

³⁹ See my paper "On the Nature of the Psyche," para. 398ff

⁴⁰ Except for the fact that the contents entering consciousness are already in a high state of complexity, as Wundt has pointed out.

⁴¹ Schelling (*Philosophie der Mythologie*, II) regards the "preconscious" as the creative source, just as Fichte (*Psychologie*, I, pp 508ff) regards the "preconscious region" as the birthplace of important dream contents

⁴² Cf. Flournoy, *From India to the Planet Mars*. Also my "On the Psychology and Pathology of So called Occult Phenomena," "The Psychology of Dementia Praecox," and "A Review of the Complex Theory." Excellent examples are to be found in Schreber, *Memoirs of My Nervous Illness*

⁴⁰ All this shows how much the products of the unconscious have in common with mythology. We should therefore have to conclude that any introversion occurring in later life regresses back to infantile reminiscences which, though derived from the individual's past, generally have a slight archaic tinge. With stronger introversion and regression the archaic features become more pronounced.

⁴¹ This problem merits further discussion. Let us take as a concrete example Anatole France's story of the pious Abbé Oegger.⁴² This priest was something of a dreamer, and much given to speculative musings, particularly in regard to the fate of Judas: whether he was really condemned to everlasting punishment, as the teaching of the Church declares, or whether God pardoned him after all. Oegger took up the very understandable attitude that God, in his supreme wisdom, had chosen Judas as an instrument for the completion of Christ's work of redemption.⁴³ This necessary instrument, without whose help humanity would never have had a share in salvation, could not possibly be damned by the all-good God. In order to put an end to his doubts, Oegger betook himself one night to the church and implored God to give him a sign that Judas was saved. Thereupon he felt a heavenly touch on his shoulder. The next day he went to the archbishop and told him that he was resolved to go out into the world to preach the gospel of God's unending mercy.

⁴² Here we have a well-developed fantasy-system dealing with the ticklish and eternally unresolved question of whether the legendary figure of Judas was damned or not. The Judas legend is itself a typical motif, namely that of the mischievous betrayal of the hero. One is reminded of Siegfried and Hagen, Baldur and Loki: Siegfried and Baldur were both murdered by a perfidious traitor from among their closest associates. This myth is moving and tragic, because the noble hero is not felled in a fair fight, but through treachery. At the same time it is an event that was repeated many times in history, for instance in the case of Caesar and Brutus. Though the myth is extremely old it is still

⁴² *Le Jardin d'Épicure*.

⁴³ The Judas figure assumes great psychological significance as the sacrificer of the Lamb of God, who by this act sacrifices himself at the same time (suicide). See Part II.

a subject for repetition, as it expresses the simple fact that envy does not let mankind sleep in peace. Thus rule can be applied to the mythological tradition in general: it does not perpetuate accounts of ordinary everyday events in the past, but only of those which express the universal and ever renewed thoughts of mankind. Thus the lives and deeds of the culture heroes and founders of religions are the purest condensations of typical mythological motifs behind which the individual figures entirely disappear.⁴⁴

- 5 But why should our pious Abbé worry about the old Judas legend? We are told that he went out into the world to preach the gospel of God's unending mercy. Not long afterwards he left the Catholic Church and became a Swedenborgian. Now we understand his Judas fantasy: he was the Judas who betrayed his Lord. Therefore he had first of all to assure himself of God's mercy in order to play the role of Judas undisturbed.

Oegger's case throws light on the mechanism of fantasies in general. The conscious fantasy may be woven of mythological or any other material, it should not be taken literally, but must be interpreted according to its meaning. If it is taken too literally it remains unintelligible, and makes one despair of the meaning and purpose of the psychic function. But the case of the Abbé Oegger shows that his doubts and his hopes are only apparently concerned with the historical person of Judas, but in reality revolve round his own personality, which was seeking a way to freedom through the solution of the Judas problem.

- 45 Conscious fantasies therefore illustrate, through the use of

⁴⁴ Cf. Drews' remarks in *The Christ Myth*. Intelligent theologians like Kalthoff (*The Rise of Christianity*) are of the same opinion as Drews. Thus Kalthoff says: "The documents that give us our information about the origin of Christianity are of such a nature that in the present state of historical science no student would venture to use them for the purpose of compiling a biography of an historical Jesus" (*ibid.* p. 10). "To look behind these evangelical narratives for the life of a natural historical human being would not occur to any thoughtful men today if it were not for the influence of the earlier rationalistic theologians" (p. 13). "In Christ the divine is always most intimately one with the human. From the God-man of the Church there is a straight line back through the Epistles and Gospels of the New Testament to the apocalypse of Daniel in which the ecclesiastical conception of Christ makes its first appearance. But at every single point in this line Christ has superhuman features. He is never what critical theology would make him—a mere natural man, an historical individual" (p. 11). Cf. also Schweitzer *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*.

mythological material, certain tendencies in the personality which are either not yet recognized or are recognized no longer. It will readily be understood that a tendency which we fail to recognize and which we treat as non-existent can hardly contain anything that would fit in with our conscious character. Hence it is mostly a question of things which we regard as immoral or impossible, and whose conscious realization meets with the strongest resistances. What would Oegger have said had one told him in confidence that he was preparing himself for the role of Judas? Because he found the damnation of Judas incompatible with God's goodness, he proceeded to think about this conflict. That is the *conscious* causal sequence. Hand in hand with this goes the *unconscious* sequence: because he wanted to be Judas, or had to be Judas, he first made sure of God's goodness. For him Judas was the symbol of his own unconscious tendency, and he made use of this symbol in order to reflect on his own situation—its direct realization would have been too painful for him. There must, then, be typical myths which serve to work out our racial and national complexes. Jacob Burckhardt seems to have glimpsed this truth when he said that every Greek of the classical period carries in himself a little bit of Oedipus, and every German a little bit of Faust.⁴⁵

⁴⁶ The problems with which the simple tale of the Abbé Oegger confronts us will meet us again when we examine another set of fantasies, which owe their existence this time to the exclusive activity of the unconscious. We are indebted to a young American woman, known to us by the pseudonym of Miss Frank Miller, for a series of fantasies, partly poetical in form, which

⁴⁵ Cf. Burckhardt's letter (1855) to his student Albert Brenner (trans. by Dru, p. 116, modified) "I have no special explanation of *Faust* ready prepared and filed away. And in any case you are well provided with commentaries of every kind. Listen, take all those second hand wares back to the library from which they originally came! (Perhaps in the meanwhile you have already done so) What you are destined to discover in *Faust*, you will have to discover intuitively (N.B. I am only speaking of the first part) *Faust* is a genuine myth, i.e., a great primordial image, in which every man has to discover his own being and destiny in his own way. Let me make a comparison: whatever would the Greeks have said if a commentator had planted himself between them and the Oedipus saga? There was an Oedipus chord in every Greek that longed to be directly touched and to vibrate after its own fashion. The same is true of *Faust* and the German nation."

Théodore Flournoy made available to the public in 1906 in the *Archives de psychologie* (Geneva) under the title *Quelques faits d'imagination créatrice subconsciente* ⁴⁶

⁴⁶ [See the Appendix for the full Miller account translated into English — EDITORS]

III

THE MILLER FANTASIES: ANAMNESIS

47 Experience has taught us that whenever anyone tells us his fantasies or his dreams, he is concerned not only with an urgent and intimate problem but with the one that is most painful for him at the moment.¹ Since, in the case of Miss Miller, we have to do with a complicated fantasy system, we shall have to give attention to details which I can best discuss by keeping to Miss Miller's own account. In the first section, entitled "Phenomena of Transitory Suggestion or of Instantaneous Autosuggestion," she gives a number of examples of her unusual suggestibility, which she herself regards as a symptom of her nervous temperament. She seems to possess an extraordinary capacity for identification and empathy; for instance she identifies herself to such

¹ There is an example of this in C. A. Bernoulli, *Franz Overbeck und Friedrich Nietzsche*, I, p. 72. Bernoulli describes Nietzsche's behaviour at a party in Basel. "Once at a dinner he said to the young lady seated next to him, 'I dreamed a short while ago that my hand, lying before me on the table, suddenly had a skin like glass, shiny and transparent, in it I saw distinctly the bones, the tissues, the play of the muscles. All at once I saw a fat load sitting on my hand and I felt at the same time an irresistible compulsion to swallow the creature. I overcame my terrible loathing and gulped it down.' The young lady laughed. 'Is that a thing to laugh at?' Nietzsche asked, dreadfully serious, his deep eyes fixed on his companion, half questioning, half sorrowful. She then knew intuitively, even though she did not quite understand it, that an oracle had spoken to her in a parable, and that Nietzsche had allowed her to glimpse, as through a narrow crack, into the dark abyss of his inner self." Bernoulli makes (p. 166) the following observation: "One can perhaps see that behind the faultless exactitude of his dress there lay not so much a harmless pleasure in his appearance, as a fear of defilement born of some secret, tormenting disgust."

Nietzsche came to Basel very young; he was just at the age when other young people are contemplating marriage. Sitting beside a young woman, he tells her that something terrible and disgusting has happened to his transparent hand, something he must take completely into his body. We know what disease caused the premature ending of Nietzsche's life. It was precisely this that he had to tell his young lady, and her laughter was indeed out of tune.

a degree with the wounded Christian de Neuville in *Cyrano de Bergerac* that she feels a piercing pain in her own breast, the very place where the hero receives his death wound.

48 One might describe the theatre, somewhat unaesthetically, as an institution for working out private complexes in public. The enjoyment of comedy, or of the blissful dénouement of the plot, is the direct result of identifying one's own complexes with those personified by the actors, while the enjoyment of tragedy lies in the thrilling yet satisfying feeling that what is happening to somebody else may very well happen to you. The palpitations of our author at the sight of the dying Christian mean that there is a complex in her awaiting a similar solution, which whispers a soft "today to you, tomorrow to me"; and lest there should be any doubt as to the critical moment, Miss Miller adds that she felt the pain in her breast "when Sarah Bernhardt throws herself upon him to stanch the bleeding of his wound." The critical moment, therefore, is when the love between Christian and Roxane comes to a sudden end. If we examine Rostand's play as a whole, we shall be struck by certain passages whose effect it is not so easy to escape, and which we must emphasize here because they are of importance for everything that follows. *Cyrano de Bergerac* of the long ugly nose, on account of which he undertakes innumerable duels, loves Roxane, who is in love with Christian, because she thinks he is the author of the beautiful verses which really come from *Cyrano's* pen. *Cyrano* is the misunderstood one whose passionate love and noble soul no one suspects, the hero who sacrifices himself for others and, in the evening of life, with his dying breath, reads her once more Christian's last letter, the verses of which he has composed himself.

Roxane, adieu! I soon must die!
 This very night, beloved, and I
 Feel my soul heavy with a love untold
 I die! No more, as in the days of old,
 My loving, longing eyes will feast
 On your least gesture—ay, the least!
 I mind me of the way you touch your cheek
 So softly with your finger, as you speak!
 Ah! me! I know that gesture well
 My heart cries out! I cry "Farewell!"

My life, my love, my jewel, my sweet,
My heart was yours in every beal" 2

- 19 Whereupon Roxane recognizes him as the true beloved. But it is already too late, death comes, and in an agonized delirium Cyrano rouses himself, draws his sword:

Why, I do believe
He dares to mock my nose! Hol insolent!
(*He raises his sword*)
What say you? It is useless? Ay, I know!
But who fights ever hoping for success?
I fought for lost cause, and for fruitless quest!
You there, who are you?—You are thousands! Ah!
I know you now, old enemies of mine!
Falsehood!
(*He strikes the air with his sword*)
Have at you! Hal and Compromise!
Prejudice! Treachery! . . .
(*He strikes*)

Surrender, I?
Parley? No, never! You too, Folly, you?
I know that you will lay me low at last;
Let be! Yet I fall fighting, fighting still!
You strip from me the laurel and the rose!
Take all! Despite you there is yet one thing
I hold against you all; and when tonight
I enter Christ's fair courts, and lowly bowed,
Sweep with doffed casque the heavens' threshold blue,
One thing is left that, void of stain or smutch,
I bear away despite you—my *panache*! 3

- 50 Cyrano, who beneath his hideous exterior hides a soul so much more beautiful, is full of misunderstood yearnings, and his final triumph lies in his departing with a clean shield—"void of stain or smutch." The author's identification with the dying Christian, who in himself is not a very inspiring figure, tells us that a sudden end is destined for her love, just as for Christian's. But, as we have seen, the tragic intermezzo with Christian is played against a background of far wider significance, namely

2 Rostand, *Cyrano de Bergerac*, trans. by Thomas and Guillemard, p. 282
3 *Ibid.*, p. 293

Cyrano's unrequited love for Roxane. The identification with Christian is probably only a cover. That this is so will become clear in the course of our analysis.

51 The identification with Christian is followed by an extraordinarily plastic memory of the sea, evoked by a photograph of a steamer plunging through the waves. ("I felt the throb of the engines, the heave of the waves, the roll of the ship.") We may here hazard the conjecture that the sea-voyages of our author were associated with particularly impressive memories which bit deep into her soul and, through unconscious sympathy, threw the screen memory into particularly vivid relief. We shall see later how far these conjectured memories hang together with the problem touched on above.

52 The example that now follows is remarkable: Once, while she was having a bath, Miss Miller wound a towel round her hair to prevent it from getting wet. At that moment she had the following vivid impression: ". . . it seemed to me, for one moment and with an almost breath-taking clarity, that I was on a pedestal, a veritable Egyptian statue with all its details; stiff limbed, one foot forward, holding insignia in my hand, etc." So Miss Miller is now identifying herself with an Egyptian statue, obviously on the basis of an unrecognized similarity. What she means is: I am like an Egyptian statue, just as stiff, wooden, sublime, and impassible, qualities for which the Egyptian statue is proverbial.

53 The next example lays stress on the personal influence she wields over a certain artist:

However, I succeeded in making him draw landscapes, such as those of Lake Geneva, where he had never been, and he used to pretend that I could make him depict things that he had never seen and give him the sense of a surrounding atmosphere that he had never felt; in short, that I was using him as he himself used his pencil, that is, simply as an instrument.

54 This remark stands in abrupt contrast to the fantasy of the Egyptian statue. Miss Miller evidently has an unspoken need to emphasize her almost magical influence over another person. This, too, could not have happened without an inner compulsion, such as is particularly noticeable in one who often does not succeed in establishing a real emotional relationship. She

will then solace herself with the idea of her almost magical powers of suggestion.

5 With that, we come to the end of the examples illustrating the autosuggestibility and suggestive influence of our author. The examples are neither particularly striking nor particularly interesting in this respect, but are all the more valuable from the psychological point of view because they allow us to glimpse some of her personal problems. Most of the examples show how liable Miss Miller was to succumb to the powers of suggestion, how the libido gained control of certain impressions and intensified them, which would naturally not have been possible but for the free floating energy placed at her disposal by her lack of relation to reality.

IV

THE HYMN OF CREATION

56 The second section in the Miller material bears the title
Glory to God A Dream Poem

57 In 1898 as a girl of twenty Miss Miller went on a long
journey through Europe We leave the description to her

After the long and rough voyage from New York to Stockholm then to St Petersburg and Odessa it was a real pleasure [*une véritable volupté*]¹ to leave the world of cities of roaring streets of business—in short of the earth—and enter the world of waves sky and silence

I spent hours on end on the deck of the ship dreaming stretched out in a deck chair All the histories legends and myths of the different countries I saw in the distance came back to me confusedly dissolved in a kind of luminous mist in which real things seemed to lose their being while dreams and ideas took on the aspect of the only true reality At first I even avoided all company and kept to myself lost in my reveries where everything I had ever known that was truly great beautiful and good came back to mind with renewed life and vigour I also spent a good part of my days writing to absent friends reading or scribbling little bits of poetry in remembrance of the various places we visited Some of these poems were of a rather serious character

58 It may perhaps seem superfluous to go into all these details more closely But if we remember what we said above that when people let their unconscious speak it always blurts out the most intimate things then even the smallest detail often has a meaning Miss Miller is here describing a state of introversion after the life of the cities with their many impressions had absorbed her interest (with that suggestive power which as

¹ The choice of words and comparisons is always significant [The words a real pleasure however may not be precisely those which Miss Miller originally wrote in English and which Flournoy rendered as *une véritable volupté* the phrase being remarked on here—EDITORS]

we have seen, forcibly produced the impression), she breathed freely again on the sea and became wholly engrossed in her inner world, deliberately cutting herself off from the environment, so that things lost their reality and dreams became truth. We know from psychopathology that there is a certain mental disturbance² which is initiated by the patient's shutting out reality more and more and sinking into his fantasies, with the result that as reality loses its hold, the determining power of the inner world increases. This process leads up to a climax when the patient suddenly becomes more or less conscious of his dissociation from reality: in a sort of panic he begins making pathological efforts to get back to his environment. These attempts spring from the compensating desire for re-association and seem to be the psychological rule, valid not only for pathological cases but also, to a lesser degree, for normal people.

59 One might therefore expect that after this prolonged introversion, which even impaired her sense of reality for a time, Miss Miller would succumb to a new impression of the external world, and one whose suggestive influence would be at least as great as that of her reveries. Let us proceed with her narrative:

But as the voyage drew near its end, the ship's officers outdid themselves in kindness and amiability [*se montrèrent tout ce qu'il y a de plus empressés et aimables*], and I passed many an amusing hour teaching them English.

Off the coast of Sicily, in the port of Catania, I wrote a sea-chanty, which, however, was little more than an adaptation of a well known song about the sea, wine and love ("Brine, wine and damsels fine") The Italians are all good singers, as a rule, and one of the officers,

² This illness had until recently the not altogether suitable name given it by Krapelin dementia praecox. Bleuler later called it schizophrenia. It is the particular misfortune of this illness that it was discovered by the psychiatrists, for its apparently bad prognosis is due to this fact, dementia praecox being synonymous with therapeutic hopelessness. How would hysteria appear if judged from the standpoint of psychiatry? The psychiatrist naturally sees only the worst cases in his asylum, and because of his therapeutic helplessness he is bound to be a pessimist. Tuberculosis would indeed be in a deplorable situation if it were described solely on the basis of experiences acquired in a Home for Incurables. The chronic cases of hysteria who slowly degenerate into idiots in lunatic asylums are no more characteristic of real hysteria than schizophrenia is characteristic of the early forms of the disease, so frequently met with in practice, that hardly ever come under the supervision of the institutional psychiatrist. "Latent psychosis" is an idea that the psychotherapist knows and fears only too well.

singing at night as he stood watch on deck, had made a great impression on me and had given me the idea of writing some words that could be fitted to his melody.

Soon afterwards, I nearly did what the proverb says, "See Naples and die," for in the port of Naples I began by being very ill (though not dangerously so); then I recovered sufficiently to go ashore and visit the principal sights of the city in a carriage. This outing tired me extremely; and as we were intending to visit Pisa the next day, I soon returned on board and went to bed early, without thinking of anything more serious than the good looks of the officers and the ugliness of Italian beggars.

- 60 One is slightly disappointed at meeting here, instead of the powerful impression one expected, an apparently insignificant episode, a mere flirtation. Nevertheless one of the officers, a singer, had evidently made a considerable impression on her. The concluding remark—"without thinking of anything more serious than the good looks of the officers"—does, it is true, tone it down somewhat. Even so, the assumption that this impression had no little influence on her mood is supported by the fact that a poem in honour of the singer was immediately forthcoming. One is only too ready to make light of such an experience and to accept the assurance of those concerned that everything is quite simple and not at all important. I am inclined to pay rather more attention to it, because experience has shown that an impression which comes after an introversion of that kind has a profound effect and may possibly have been underestimated by Miss Miller herself. The sudden, passing attack of sickness requires psychological explanation, though this is not possible for lack of data. But the phenomena about to be described can only be understood as arising out of a convulsion that reaches into the very depths of her being:

From Naples to Leghorn is one night by boat, during which I slept moderately well—my sleep is rarely deep or dreamless—and it seemed to me that my mother's voice woke me up just at the end of the *sol* following dream, which must, therefore, have taken place immediately before waking.

First, I was vaguely conscious of the words "when the morning stars sang together," which served as the prelude, if I may so put it, to an involved idea of creation and to mighty chorales reverberating through the universe. But, with the confusion and strange contradic-

tion characteristic of dreams, all this was mixed up with choruses from oratorios given by one of the leading musical societies of New York, and with indistinct memories of Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Then, slowly, out of this medley, words appeared, and a little later they arranged themselves in three stanzas, in my handwriting, on a sheet of ordinary blue-lined writing paper, in a page of my old poetry album that I always carry about with me: in short, they appeared to me exactly as they did in reality, a few minutes later, in my book.

- 61 Miss Miller then wrote down the following poem, which she rearranged slightly a few months later, in order to make it more nearly, in her opinion, like the dream original:

First Version

Second Version (more exact)

When God had first made Sound,
A myriad ears sprang into being
And throughout all the Universe
Rolled a mighty echo:
"Glory to the God of Sound!"

When the Eternal first made
Sound
A myriad ears sprang out to hear,
And throughout all the Universe
There rolled an echo deep and
clear:
"All glory to the God of Sound!"

When beauty (light) first was
given by God,
A myriad eyes sprang out to see
And hearing ears and seeing eyes
Again gave forth that mighty
song:
"Glory to the God of Beauty
(Light)!"

When the Eternal first made
Light,
A myriad eyes sprang out to look,
And hearing ears and seeing eyes,
Once more a mighty choral took:
"All glory to the God of Light!"

When God has first given Love,
A myriad hearts leapt up;
And ears full of music, eyes all
full of Beauty,
Hearts all full of love sang:
"Glory to the God of Love!"

When the Eternal first gave Love,
A myriad hearts sprang into life;
Ears filled with music, eyes with
light,
Pealed forth with hearts with
love all rife:
"All glory to the God of Love!"

- 62 Before we examine her attempts to get at the roots of this subliminal creation through her own associations, let us take a quick look at the material already in hand. The impression of the ship has already received due emphasis, so it ought not to

be difficult to lay hold of the dynamic processes responsible for this poetic revelation. It was suggested further back that Miss Miller may have considerably underestimated the scope of the erotic impression she had received. This assumption is the more probable in that experience has shown that relatively weak erotic impressions are often underestimated. One can see this most clearly in cases where an erotic relationship is regarded as impossible on social or moral grounds (for instance between parents and children, brothers and sisters, older and younger men, etc.). If the impression is comparatively slight, it does not exist at all for the persons concerned; if it is strong, then a tragic dependence develops which can lead to all sorts of trouble. This lack of judgment can go unbelievably far—a mother who sees her small son having an erection in her own bed; a sister who half-playfully embraces her brother; a twenty-year-old daughter who still sits herself in her father's lap and then has "strange" sensations in her "tummy." And yet they are all highly indignant when anyone speaks of "sexuality." There is a certain kind of education that tacitly aims at knowing as little as possible about these unmentionable facts in the background, and which shrouds them in the deepest ignorance.³ No wonder, then, that most people's judgment in regard to the scope of erotic impressions is precarious and inadequate. Miss Miller was, as we have seen, quite prepared for a *deep* impression. But not many of the feelings it aroused seem to have come to the surface, for the dream had to repeat the lesson over again. We know from analytical experience that the initial dreams of patients at the beginning of an analysis are of especial interest, not least because they often bring out a critical evaluation of the doctor's personality which previously he would have asked for in vain. They enrich the patient's conscious impression of the doctor, often on very important points, and they frequently contain erotic comments which the unconscious had to make in order to counterbalance the patient's underestimation and uncertain appraisal of the impression. Expressed in the drastic and hyperbolic manner peculiar to dreams, the impression often appears in almost unintelligible form owing to the incongruity of the symbolism. A further peculiarity, which seems due to the

* The reader must remember that these lines were written before the First World War. Much has changed since then.

historical stratification of the unconscious, is that when an impression is denied conscious recognition it reverts to an earlier form of relationship. That explains why young girls, at the time of their first love, have great difficulty in expressing themselves owing to disturbances brought about by regressive reactivation of the father-*imago*.⁴

⁶³ We may suppose that something similar has happened to Miss Miller, for the idea of a masculine Creator-God is apparently derived from the father-*imago*,⁵ and aims, among other things, at replacing the infantile relation to the father in such a way as to enable the individual to emerge from the narrow circle of the family into the wider circle of society. Naturally this is far from exhausting the meaning of the dream-image.

⁶⁴ In the light of these reflections, the poem and its prelude appear as the religiously and poetically formulated product of an introversion that has regressed back to the father-*imago*. Despite inadequate apperception of the operative impression, its essential ingredients have been built into the substitute product, as marks of its origin, so to speak. The operative impression was the handsome officer singing in the night-watch—"When the morning stars sang together"—whose image opened out a new world to the girl ("Creation").

⁶⁵ This "creator" created first Sound, then Light, and then

⁴ Here I purposely give preference to the term "*imago*" rather than to "complex," in order to make clear, by this choice of a technical term, that the psychological factor which I sum up under "*imago*" has a living independence in the psychic hierarchy, i.e., possesses that *autonomy* which wide experience has shown to be the essential feature of feeling-toned complexes. This is brought out by the term "*imago*" (Cf. my "*Psychology of Dementia Praecox*," chs. 2 and 3.) My critics have seen in this view a return to medieval psychology and have therefore repudiated it. This "return" was made consciously and deliberately on my part, because the psychology of ancient and modern superstition furnishes abundant evidence for my point of view. Valuable insight and confirmation is also given us by the insane Schreber in his autobiography. My use of "*imago*" has close parallels in Spitteler's novel of the same name, and also in the ancient religious idea of the "*imagines et lares*." In my later writings, I use the term "archetype" instead, in order to bring out the fact that we are dealing with impersonal, collective forces.

⁵ The idea that the masculine deity is derived from the father *imago* need be taken literally only within the limits of a personalistic psychology. Closer investigation of the father *imago* has shown that certain collective components are contained in it from the beginning and cannot be reduced to personal experiences. Cf. my essay, "The Relations between the Ego and the Unconscious," pars. 21:ff.

Love That Sound should be the first thing created has parallels in the creative word in Genesis in Simon Magus, where the voice corresponds to the sun,⁶ in the sounds or cries of lamentation mentioned in *Poimandres*,⁷ and in God's laughter at the creation of the world (*κοσμοποιία*) in a Leiden Papyrus.⁸ Hence we may hazard the conjecture, which will be amply confirmed later on, that there was the following chain of association: the singer—the singing morning star—the God of Sound—the Creator—the God of Light—of the sun—of fire—and of Love. Most of these expressions are also characteristic of the language of love and are found wherever speech is heightened by emotion.

66 Miss Miller has tried to understand this unconscious creation by means of a procedure which agrees in principle with the methods of psychological analysis and therefore leads to the same results. But, as is usually the case with laymen and beginners, she gets stuck at associations which bring the underlying complex to light only in an indirect way. Nevertheless a simple procedure—a mere matter of carrying the thought to its logical conclusion—is enough to help one find the meaning.

67 Miss Miller finds it astonishing, first of all, that her unconscious fantasy does not, like the Biblical account of the Creation, put light in the first place but sound. There now follows a truly *ad hoc* theoretical explanation. She says:

It may be of interest to recall that Anaxagoras too makes the cosmos arise out of chaos by means of a whirlwind⁹—which does not normally occur without producing a noise. But at that time I had not yet made a study of philosophy and I knew nothing either of Anaxagoras or of his theories about the *vous* which I found I had

⁶ But the voice and the name [are] sun and moon. Hippolytus *Elenchos* VI 13.—Max Müller in his foreword to the *Sacred Books of the East* I p. xxv says of the sacred syllable *Om*: "He therefore who meditates on *Om* meditates on the spirit in man as identical with the spirit in the sun."

⁷ Schultz *Gnosis* p. 62. Text in Scott *Hermetica* I p. 115. Lib. I 4.

⁸ Pap. J 395 in Dieterich *Abraxas* p. 17. "And God laughed seven times. Cha Cha Cha Cha Cha Cha and as God laughed there arose seven gods."

⁹ In Anaxagoras the living primal power of *vous* imparts movement to inert matter. There is of course no mention of noise. Also Miss Miller stresses the wind nature of *vous* more than is warranted by ancient tradition. On the other hand this *vous* is related to the *πνεῦμα* of late antiquity and to the *λόγος ἀνεπαύριτος* of the Stoics. In the incest fantasy of one of my patients her father covered her face with his hands and blew into her open mouth—an allusion to inspiration.

been unconsciously following. I was in equally complete ignorance of the name of Leibniz and consequently of his doctrine "dum Deus calculat fit mundus."

The allusions to Anaxagoras and Leibniz both refer to creation through thought, so that divine thought alone is held capable of producing a new material reality—a reference which seems unintelligible at first, but will soon become more understandable.

68 We come now to the associations from which Miss Miller mainly derives her unconscious creation:

In the first place, there is Milton's *Paradise Lost*, of which we had a fine edition at home, illustrated by Gustave Doré, and which I have known well since childhood. Then the Book of Job, which has been read aloud to me ever since I can remember. Now, if you compare my first line with the first words of *Paradise Lost*, you find it is in the same metre (—/—/—/—):

Of man's first disobedience . . .

When the Eternal first made sound.

Moreover, the general idea of my poem is slightly reminiscent of various passages in Job, and also of one or two places in Handel's ¹⁰ oratorio *The Creation* (which appeared in the confusion at the beginning of the dream).

69 So the "lost paradise," which is as we know closely associated with the beginning of the world, is defined more precisely through the line "Of man's first disobedience"—a clear reference to the Fall, which in this connection is not without significance. I know the objection which everyone will raise here, namely that Miss Miller could just as well have chosen any other line as an example, that she picked on the first suitable one purely by accident, and that its content was equally accidental. The criticism levelled at the association method generally operates with arguments of this kind. The misunderstanding arises from the fact that the law of psychic causality is never taken seriously enough: there are no accidents, no "just as wells." It is so, and there is a very good reason why it is so. It is a fact that Miss Miller's poem is associated with the Fall, and this focuses our attention on the very same problem whose existence we have already surmised. Unfortunately, the author neglects to tell us

¹⁰ Probably Haydn's *Creation* is meant

which passages in Job came into her mind, so we can only make broad conjectures. First of all, the analogy to *Paradise Lost*: Job loses everything he has, because Satan made God doubt his integrity. In the same way, paradise was lost through the temptation of the serpent, and mankind was cast out into a life of earthly travail. The idea, or rather the mood, expressed by this recollection of *Paradise Lost* is Miss Miller's feeling of having lost something which was somehow connected with Satanic temptation. Like Job, she is an innocent victim because she did not succumb to the temptation. Job's sufferings are not understood by his friends; ¹¹ none of them knows that Satan has a hand in the game and that Job is really innocent. Indeed, he never wearies of protesting his innocence. Does this, perhaps, give us a clue? We know that certain neurotics and mentally diseased people continually defend their innocence against non-existent attacks; but on closer inspection one discovers that in defending their innocence apparently without cause they are simply indulging in a self-deceiving manoeuvre, which derives its energy from those very impulses whose unpleasant character is plainly revealed by the content of the alleged accusations and calumnies.¹²

⁷⁰ Job suffers doubly, firstly through the loss of his fortune, secondly through the lack of understanding of his friends, a theme that can be traced all through the book. The misery of being misunderstood reminds us of the figure of Cyrano de Bergerac: he too suffers doubly—on one side through unrequited love, on the other through misunderstanding. He falls, as we have already seen, in the last hopeless struggle against "Falsehood, Compromise, Prejudice, Treachery, and Folly":

You strip from me the laurel and the rose!

Job laments:

God hath delivered me to the ungodly,
and turned me over into the hands of the wicked.
I was at ease, but he hath broken me asunder:

¹¹ See Job 16:1-11.

¹² I remember the case of a crazy young girl of 20, who continually imagined that her innocence was suspected despite all my efforts to talk her out of it. Gradually her indignant defence developed into a correspondingly aggressive erotomania.

he hath also taken me by my neck, and shaken me to pieces,
and set me up for his mark.

His archers compass me round about,
he cleaveth my reins asunder, and doth not spare;
he poureth out my gall upon the ground.
He breaketh me with breach upon breach,
he runneth upon me like a giant.¹³

- 72 The emotional analogy lies in having to suffer a hopeless struggle against overwhelming odds. It is as if this struggle were accompanied from afar by the clangour of "creation," as if it constellated in the unconscious a wonderful and mysterious image that has not yet forced its way into the light of the upper world. We surmise, rather than know, that this struggle has got something to do with creation, with the unending battle between affirmation and negation. The allusions to Rostand's *Cyrano* through the identification with Christian, to Milton's *Paradise Lost*, to the sorrows of Job, misunderstood by his friends, plainly betray that in the soul of the poet there is something that identifies with these ideas. She too has suffered like Job, has lost paradise, and dreams of "creation"—creation through thought—and of fructification through the rushing wind of the pneuma.

- 73 We submit ourselves once more to Miss Miller's guidance:

I remember that, at the age of fifteen, I was very much excited by an article my mother had read to me, about "the Idea spontaneously creating its own object," and I passed almost the whole night without sleep, wondering what it could all mean—From the age of nine to sixteen, I used to go on Sundays to a Presbyterian church, where the pastor was a highly cultivated man, now president of a well known college. And in one of the earliest memories I have of him, I see myself, still quite a little girl, sitting in our large pew in church and struggling to keep myself awake, without being able to understand what in the world he meant when he spoke to us of "Chaos," "Cosmos," and "the Gift of Love."

- 74 There are, then, fairly early memories of the awakening of puberty (nine to sixteen), which connect the idea of the cosmos born of chaos with the "Gift of Love." The medium in which this happy connection took place is the memory of a much-respected ecclesiastic who spoke those dark words. From the

¹³ Job 16: 11ff

same period comes the memory of her excitement over the Idea spontaneously creating its own object. Two ways of creation are here hinted at: creative thought, and the mysterious reference to the 'Gift of Love'.

75 During the latter part of my medical studies I had an opportunity of gaining through long observation, a deep insight into the soul of a fifteen year-old girl. I then discovered, to my astonishment, what the contents of unconscious fantasies are like, and how far removed they are from what a girl of this age shows in her outward demeanour and from what an outsider would suspect. They were far reaching fantasies of a positively mythical nature: the girl saw herself, in her split off fantasy, as the racial mother of uncounted generations of men.¹⁴ Even allowing for the markedly poetic cast of her imagination, there still remained elements that are probably common to all girls of her age, for the unconscious is infinitely more common to all men than are the contents of their individual consciousnesses. The unconscious is, in fact, the condensation of the average run of historical experience.

76 Miss Miller's problem at this age was the common human problem. How am I to be creative? Nature knows only one answer to that. Through a child (the gift of love). But—how does one get a child? Here arises the problem which, as experience has shown, is connected with the father.¹⁵ so that it cannot be tackled properly because too much preoccupation with the father at once brings up the incest barrier. The strong and natural love that binds the child to the father turns away, during the years when the child is outgrowing the family circle, to the higher forms of the father, to authority, to the Fathers of the Church and to the father god visibly represented by them, where there is even less possibility of coming to grips with the problem. Nevertheless, mythology is not lacking in consolations. Did not the Word become flesh? And did not the divine pneuma enter into the Virgin's womb? (pl. III.) The whirlwind of Anaxagoras was that same divine *nous* which produced the world out of itself. Why do we cherish the image of

¹⁴ The case is published in my *On the Psychology and Pathology of So called Occult Phenomena*.

¹⁵ Cf. Freud *Analysis of a Phobia in a Five year old Boy* and my *"Psychic Conflicts in a Child"* pars. 46ff.

the Immaculate Mother even to this day? Because it is still comforting and speaks without words or noisy sermons to the comfortless, saying, "I too have become a mother"—through the "Idea spontaneously creating its own object." I believe there would be reason enough for a sleepless night if those adolescent fantasies once got hold of this idea—the consequences would indeed be incalculable.

- 77 Everything psychic has a lower and a higher meaning, as in the profound saying of late classical mysticism: "Heaven above, Heaven below, stars above, stars below, all that is above also is below, know this and rejoice."¹⁶ Here we lay our finger on the secret symbolical significance of everything psychic. We would be doing less than justice to the intellectual originality of our author if we were content to trace back the excitement of that sleepless night simply and solely to the sexual problem in its narrower sense. That would be only one half of the meaning, and the lower half at that. The other half is ideal creation as a substitute for real creation

- 78 With personalities who are obviously capable of intellectual effort, the prospect of spiritual fruitfulness is something worthy of their highest aspirations, and for many people it is actually a vital necessity. This other side of the fantasy also explains the excitement, for we are concerned here with a thought that contains a presentiment of the future—one of those thoughts which, to quote Maeterlinck,¹⁷ spring from the "inconscient supérieur," from the "prospective potency" of a subliminal synthesis.¹⁸ I have had occasion to observe, in the course of my daily profes

¹⁶ οὐρανὸς ἄνω, οὐρανὸς κάτω, ἄστρα ἄνω, ἄστρα κάτω, πᾶν τοῦτο ἄνω, πᾶν τοῦτο κάτω, τοι το λαβὴ καὶ εὐτύχει —An old paraphrase of the *Tabula smaragdina* of Hermes, and of the text mentioned by Athanasius Kircher (*Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, Part 2, p. 414). I have quoted the latter text in my *Psychology of the Transference*, par. 384.

¹⁷ *Wisdom and Destiny*

¹⁸ This time I shall hardly escape the charge of mysticism. But perhaps the facts should be considered further: there is no doubt that the unconscious contains psychological combinations which do not reach the threshold of consciousness. Analysis dissolves these combinations back into their historical determinants. It works backwards like the science of history. Just as a large part of the past is so remote as to be beyond the reach of historical knowledge, so too the greater part of these unconscious determinants is unreachable. History, however, knows nothing either of that which is hidden in the past or of that which is hidden in the future. Both might be reached with some degree of probability, the first as a postulate, the second as a political prognosis. Thus, in so far as tomorrow is al

sional work (though this is an experience about whose certainty I must express myself with all the caution which the complexity of the material enjoins), that in certain cases of long-standing neurosis a dream, often of visionary clarity, occurs about the time of the onset of the illness or shortly before, which imprints itself indelibly on the mind and, when analysed, reveals to the patient a hidden meaning that anticipates the subsequent events of his life.¹⁹ I am inclined to attribute a similar meaning to the excitement of that restless night, because the later events, so far as Miss Miller consciously or unconsciously reveals them to us, are entirely of a nature to confirm our supposition that we must take that moment as foreshadowing a future life-aim.

79 Miss Miller ends her string of associations with the following comment:

It [the dream] seems to me to result from a mixture in my mind of *Paradise Lost*, *Job*, and *The Creation*, with notions like the "Idea spontaneously creating its own object," the "Gift of Love," "Chaos," and "Cosmos"

80 Thus, like little bits of coloured glass in a kaleidoscope, fragments of philosophy, aesthetics, and religion are blended together in her mind, so she tells us—

ready contained in today, and all the threads of the future are already laid down, a deeper knowledge of the present might render possible a moderately far sighted prognosis of the future. If we apply this reasoning to the realm of the psychic we necessarily come to the same result. Just as memories that have long since fallen below the threshold are still accessible to the unconscious, so also are certain very fine subliminal combinations that point forward, and these are of the greatest significance for future events in so far as the latter are conditioned by our psychology. But no more than the science of history bothers itself with future combinations of events, which are rather the object of political science, can the forward pointing psychological combinations be the object of analysis, they would be much more the object of a refined psychological syncretism that knew how to follow the natural currents of libido. Thus we cannot do, or only badly, but it happens easily enough in the unconscious, and it seems as if from time to time, under certain conditions, important fragments of this work come to light, at least in dreams, thus accounting for the prophetic significance of dreams long claimed by superstition. Dreams are very often anticipations of future alterations of consciousness [Cf Jung, "General Aspects of Dream Psychology," pars. 492ff.—EDITORS]

¹⁹ Dreams seem to remain spontaneously in the memory for just so long as they correctly sum up the psychological situation of the individual

... under the stimulation of the voyage and of countries fleetingly seen, coupled with the vast silence and impalpable charm of the sea—to produce this beautiful dream. There was only this and nothing more. "Only this, and nothing more!"

- 81 With these words Miss Miller shows us politely but emphatically out. Her parting words of negation make one curious to know exactly what position they are intended to negate. "There was only this and nothing more" must refer to "the impalpable charm of the sea"; so presumably the handsome young officer who sang so melodiously during the watches of the night is long since forgotten, and nobody is to know, least of all the dreamer, that he was a star of the morning who heralded the dawning of a new day.²⁰ One should, however, avoid pacifying oneself or the reader with soothing phrases like "There was only this," for something might easily give them the lie the next moment. This is what happens to Miss Miller, who immediately adds, "Only this, and nothing more!" but without giving the source. The quotation comes from Poe's poem "The Raven," and the operative stanza runs:

While I nodded, nearly napping, suddenly there came a tapping,
As of some one gently rapping, rapping at my chamber door.
"Tis some visitor," I muttered, "tapping at my chamber door—
Only this, and nothing more"

- 82 A spectral raven knocks nightly at his door and reminds the poet of his irrevocably lost "Lenore." The raven's name is "Nevermore," and he croaks his horrible "Nevermore" as a refrain to every verse. Old memories come back tormentingly,

²⁰ How collective the elements in such an experience are can be seen from the following love song. Of its many variants, I quote a modern Greek version from Epirus (*Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, XII, 1902, p. 159)

O maiden, when we kissed, it was night. Who saw us?—
A bright star saw us and the moon saw us,
And it leaned down to the sea and whispered the tidings,
And the sea told the rudder, and the rudder told the sailor,
And the sailor made a song then the neighbours heard it,
Then the priest heard it too and told it to my mother,
From her my father heard it and was livid with anger
They nagged me and scolded me and now have forbidden me
Ever to go to the door or look out of the window,
And yet I will go to the window as if to my flowers,
And never will I rest until my beloved is mine.

and each time the spectre repeats inexorably Nevermore In
 vain the poet seeks to frighten away the dismal guest shouting
 at the raven

Be that word our sign of parting bird or fiend! I shrieked upstart
 ing—

Get thee back into the tempest and the Night's Plutonian shore!
 Leave no black plume as a token of the lie thy soul hath spoken!
 Leave my loneliness unbroken!—quit the bust above my door!
 Take thy beak from out my heart and take thy form from off my
 door!

Quoth the raven Nevermore!

83 The words Only this and nothing more! which apparently
 skip so lightly over the situation are taken from a poem which
 depicts in an affecting manner the poet's despair over a lost
 love.²¹ Their quotation gives the show away completely. Miss
 Miller evidently underestimated the impression which the
 night watching singer had made upon her and its far reaching
 consequences. This under estimation is precisely the reason why
 the problem was not worked out consciously and why it pro-
 duced those psychological riddles. The impression goes on
 working in the unconscious and throws up symbolical fantasies.
 First it is the morning stars [that] sang together then *Para-
 dise Lost* then the yearning clothes itself in ecclesiastical garb
 speaks darkly of World Creation and finally rises to a reli-
 gious hymn where it at last finds its way to freedom. But the
 hymn bears in its own peculiarities the marks of its origin by
 the devious route of the father imago relationship the night
 watching singer becomes the Creator the God of Sound of
 Light and of Love. This is not to say that the idea of God de-
 rives from the loss of a lover and is nothing but a substitute for

²¹ The atmosphere of the poem's cry reminds me of Gérard de Nerval's *Aurelia* a book that anticipates the same fate that befell Miss Miller's spiritual benightedness. Cf. the significance of the raven in alchemy where it is a synonym for the *in gredo* (*Psychology and Alchemy* pars 333ff.)

²² This again is decidedly reminiscent of Gérard de Nerval's attitude towards Aurelia whose significance he refuses to admit. He would not believe that a *femme ordinaire de ce monde* could have the glamour his unconscious endowed her with. Today we know that a powerful impression of this kind is due to the projection of an archetype — that of the anima or animus. See *The Relations between the Ego and the Unconscious* pars 296ff. and my *Psychological Aspects of the Hero* pars 3,6ff.

the human object. What is evidently in question here is the displacement of libido on to a *symbolical* object, with the result that the latter is turned into a sort of substitute. It is in itself a perfectly genuine experience, though, like everything else, it can be put to improper use.

- 84 The winding path of the libido seems to be a *via dolorosa*; at any rate, *Paradise Lost* and the parallel reference to Job lead one to that conclusion. The initial hints of identification with Christian, which really points to Cyrano, prove that the long way round is a way of suffering, just as it was when mankind, after the Fall, had to bear the burden of earthly life, or when Job suffered under the power of God and Satan and became the unsuspecting plaything of two superhuman forces. *Faust* offers the same spectacle of a wager with God:

MEPHISTOPHELES: What do you wager? You will lose him yet,
 Provided you give me permission
 To steer him gently in the course I set.²³

- 85 Compare with this the passage in Job, where Satan says:

But put forth thine hand now, and touch all that he hath, and he will curse thee to thy face.²⁴

- 86 While in Job the two great forces are characterized simply as good and evil, the immediate problem is a definitely erotic one in *Faust*, where the devil is aptly characterized by the appropriate role of tempter. This aspect is lacking in Job, but at the same time Job is not conscious of the conflict within his own soul, and he never ceases to inveigh against the arguments of his friends who want to convince him of the evil in his heart. To that extent, one could say that Faust is the more conscious in that he openly admits his psychic conflicts.

- 87 Miss Miller acts like Job: she admits nothing, and pretends that good and evil come from outside. Hence her identification with Job is significant in this respect also. But there is another, very important analogy still to be mentioned: the procreative urge—which is how love must be regarded from the natural standpoint—remains the essential attribute of the God whom Miss Miller apparently derives from the erotic impression, for

²³ Trans. by MacNeice, p. 15 modified.

²⁴ Job 1: 11. [Cf. these para. with Jung, "Answer to Job"—EDITORS]

which reason he is praised in the hymn as Creator. We see the same thing in Job. Satan is the destroyer of Job's fruitfulness but God is the All Fruitful therefore at the end of the book he addresses a psalm filled with lofty poetic beauty to his own creative power but it is curious to note that he gives chief consideration to two highly unsympathetic representatives of the animal kingdom Behemoth and Leviathan both expressive of the crudest force conceivable in nature

88 Miss Miller uses the text of the Authorized Version which like Luther's version is very suggestive

Behold now behemoth which I made with thee
 he eateth grass as an ox
 Lo now his strength is in his loins
 and his force is in the navel of his belly
 He moveth his tail like a cedar
 the sinews of his stones are wrapped together
 His bones are as strong pieces of brass
 his bones are like bars of iron
 He is the chief of the ways of God
 Canst thou draw out leviathan with an hook?
 or his tongue with a cord which thou lettest down?
 Canst thou put an hook into his nose?
 or bore his jaw through with a thorn?
 Will he make many supplications unto thee?
 will he speak soft words unto thee?
 Will he make a covenant with thee?
 wilt thou take him for a servant for ever? 5

9 God speaks thus in order to parade his power and omnipotence forcibly before Job's eyes. God is as Behemoth and Leviathan 6 the fruitfulness and abundance of Nature the ungovernable wildness and licentiousness of Nature the overwhelming danger of unchained power 7 What was it that destroyed Job's earthly paradise? The unchained power of Nature

25 Job 10 15 19 41 74

26 Cf. Schäfer, Die Gestalt des Satans im Alten Testament, in J. ng Symbolik des Geistes, pp. 288ff.

27 Job 41 19-24

Out of his mouth go burning lamps and sparks of fire leap out
 Out of his nostrils goeth smoke as out of a seething pot or caldron
 His breath kindleth coals and a flame goeth out of his mouth
 In his neck remaineth strength and sorrow is turned into joy before him

[continued]

God, so the poet gives us to understand, has simply shown his other side for once, the side we call the Devil, and let loose all the terrors of Nature upon the unfortunate Job. The God who created such monstrosities, at the very thought of which we poor weak mortals stiffen with fear, must certainly harbour within himself qualities which give one pause. This God dwells in the heart, in the unconscious.²⁹ That is the source of our fear of the unspeakably terrible, and of the strength to withstand the terror. Man, that is to say his conscious ego, is a mere bagatelle, a feather whirled hither and thither with every gust of wind, sometimes the sacrificed and sometimes the sacrificer, and he cannot hinder either. The Book of Job shows us God at work both as creator and destroyer. Who is this God? An idea that has forced itself upon mankind in all parts of the earth and in all ages and always in similar form: an otherworldly power which has us at its mercy, which begets and kills—an image of all the necessities and inevitablenesses of life. Since, psychologically speaking, the God image is a complex of ideas of an archetypal nature, it must necessarily be regarded as representing a certain sum of energy (libido) which appears in projection.²⁰ In most of the existing religions it seems that the formative factor which creates the attributes of divinity is the

The flakes of his flesh are joined together they are firm in themselves they cannot be moved

His heart is as firm as a stone, yea, as hard as a piece of the nether mill stone

When he raiseth up himself, the mighty are afraid by reason of breakings they purify themselves

The sword of him that layeth at him cannot hold the spear, the dart, nor the habergeon

He esteemeth iron as straw, and brass as rotten wood

The arrow cannot make him flee slingstones are turned with him into stubble

Darts are counted as stubble he laugheth at the shaking of a spear

²⁹ These expressions are all anthropomorphisms whose source is primarily psychological

²⁰ This proposition has caused much offence, because people have failed to see that it is a *psychological* view and not a *metaphysical* statement. The psychic fact 'God' is a typical autonomism a *collective archetype*, as I later called it. It is therefore characteristic not only of all higher forms of religion, but appears spontaneously in the dreams of individuals. The archetype is, as such, an unconscious psychic image, but it has a reality independent of the attitude of the conscious mind. It is a psychic existent which should not in itself be confused with

father imago while in the older religions it was the mother imago. These attributes are omnipotence, a sternly persecuting paternalism ruling through fear (Old Testament) and a loving paternalism (New Testament). In certain pagan conceptions of divinity the maternal element is strongly emphasized and there is also a wide development of the animal or theriomorphic element³⁰ (Pl. 11a). The God concept is not only an image but an elemental force. The primitive power which Job's Hymn of Creation vindicates, absolute and inexorable, unjust and superhuman, is a genuine and authentic attribute of the natural power of instinct and fate which leads us into life which makes all the world become guilty before God (Romans 3:19) and against which all struggle is in vain. Nothing remains for mankind but to work in harmony with this will. To work in harmony with the libido does not mean letting oneself drift with it for the psychic forces have no uniform direction but are often directly opposed to one another. A mere letting go of oneself leads in the shortest space of time to the most hopeless confusion. It is often difficult if not impossible to feel the ground current and to know the true direction at any rate. Collisions, conflicts, and mistakes are scarcely avoidable.

As we have seen, the religious hymn unconsciously produced by Miss Miller appears in the place of the erotic problem. It derives its material for the most part from reminiscences which were reactivated by the introverted libido. Had this creation not come off, Miss Miller would inevitably have yielded to the erotic impression either with the usual consequences or else with a negative result which would have replaced the lost happiness by a correspondingly strong feeling of regret. Opinions as we know are deeply divided over the value of solving an erotic conflict like Miss Miller's in this way. It is thought to be much more beautiful and noble to let an erotic tension resolve

the idea of a metaphysical God. The existence of the archetype neither postulates a God nor does it deny it at the same time.

³⁰ Theriomorphic elements are lacking in Christianity except for remnants like the dove, the fish, and the lamb, and the beasts representing the Evangelists. The raven and the lion symbolized definite degrees of initiation in the Mithraic mysteries. Since Dionysus was represented among other things as a bull, his female worshippers wore horns, as though they were cows (Ibid. 11b). In the format of Professor Kerényi, the female worshippers of the bear goddess Artemis were called *arktoi* (bears). Cf. pl. 1b.

itself unnoticed into the sublime feelings of religious poetry, in which perhaps other people can find joy and consolation, and that it is a kind of unjustified fanaticism for truth to complain about the unconsciousness of such a solution. I would not like to decide this question one way or the other, but would prefer to find out the meaning and purpose of the apparently devious path followed by the libido, and of the apparent self-deception, in the case of a so-called unnatural and unconscious solution. There are no "purposeless" psychic processes; that is to say, it is a hypothesis of the greatest heuristic value that the psyche is essentially purposive and directed.

91 That the root-cause of the poem has been shown to be the love-episode is an explanation that does not amount to very much at present, for the question of purpose still remains to be settled. Only the discovery of the purpose can provide a satisfactory answer to psychological questions. Were there not a secret purposiveness bound up with the supposedly devious path of the libido or with the supposed *repression*, it is certain that such a process could not take place so easily, so naturally, and so spontaneously. Also, it would hardly occur so frequently in this form, or in some other like it. There is no doubt that this transformation of libido moves in the same direction as, broadly speaking, the cultural modification, conversion, or displacement of natural drives. It must be a well-trodden path which is so habitual that we hardly notice the conversion ourselves, if at all. Between the normal psychic transformation of instinctual drives and the present case there is, however, a certain difference: we cannot rid ourselves of the suspicion that the critical experience—the singer—was assiduously overlooked; in other words, that there was a certain amount of "repression." This latter term should really be used only when it is a voluntary act of which one cannot help being conscious. Nervous persons can successfully hide voluntary decisions of this kind from themselves up to a point, so that it looks as if the act of repression were completely unconscious. The context²¹ of associations provided by the author herself is so impressive that she must have felt this background in a fairly lively fashion, and must therefore have transformed the situation through a more or less conscious act of repression.

²¹ See my "On the Nature of Dreams," para. 512ff.

92 Repression however is an illegitimate way of evading the conflict for it means pretending to oneself that it does not exist. What then becomes of the repressed conflict? Clearly it continues to exist even though not conscious to the subject. As we have seen already the repression leads to regressive reactivation of an earlier relationship or type of relatedness in this case the reactivation of the father imago. Constellated (i.e. activated) unconscious contents are so far as we know always projected that is they are either discovered in external objects or are said to exist outside one's own psyche. A repressed conflict and its affective tone must reappear *somewhere*. The projection caused by repression is not something that the individual consciously does or makes it follows automatically and as such is not recognized unless there are quite special conditions which enforce its withdrawal.

93 The advantage of projection consists in the fact that one has apparently got rid of the painful conflict once and for all. Somebody else or external circumstances now have the responsibility. In the present case the reactivated father imago gives rise to a hymn addressed to the deity in his specifically paternal aspect—hence the emphasis on the Father of all things, Creator etc. The deity thus takes the place of the human singer and earthly love is replaced by the heavenly. Although it cannot be proved from the material available it is nevertheless highly improbable that Miss Miller was so unaware of the conflicting nature of the situation that the apparently effortless transformation of the erotic impression into feelings of religious exaltation cannot be explained as an act of repression. If this view is correct then the picture of the father god is a projection and the procedure responsible for this a self-deceiving manoeuvre undertaken for the illegitimate purpose of *making a real difficulty unreal* that is of juggling it out of existence.

1 If however a product like the hymn came into being without an act of repression i.e. unconsciously and spontaneously then we are confronted with an entirely natural and automatic process of transformation. In that case the creator god who emerges from the father imago is no longer a product of repression or a substitute but a natural and inevitable phenomenon. Natural transformations of this kind without any semi-conscious elements of conflict are to be found in all genuine acts

of creation, artistic or otherwise. But to the degree that they are causally connected with an act of repression they are coloured by complexes which neurotically distort them and stamp them as *ersatz* products. With a little experience it would not be difficult to determine their origin by their character, and to see how far their genealogy is the result of repression. Just as in natural birth no repression is needed to bring or "project" a living creature into the world, so artistic and spiritual creation is a natural process even when the figure projected is divine. This is far from being always a religious, philosophical, or even a denominational question, but is a universal phenomenon which forms the basis of all our ideas of God, and these are so old that one cannot tell whether they are derived from a father-imago, or vice versa. (The same must be said of the mother-imago as well.)

95 The God image thrown up by a spontaneous act of creation is a living figure, a being that exists in its own right and therefore confronts its ostensible creator autonomously. As proof of this it may be mentioned that the relation between the creator and the created is a *dialectical* one, and that, as experience shows, man has often been the person who is addressed. From this the naïve minded person concludes, rightly or wrongly, that the figure produced exists in and for itself, and he is inclined to assume that it was not he who fashioned it, but that it fashioned itself in him—a possibility which no amount of criticism can disprove, since the genesis of this figure is a natural process with a teleological orientation in which the cause anticipates the goal. As it is a natural process, it cannot be decided whether the God-image is created or whether it creates itself. The naïve intellect cannot help taking its autonomy into account and putting the dialectical relationship to practical use. It does this by calling upon the divine presence in all difficult or dangerous situations, for the purpose of unloading all its unbearable difficulties upon the Almighty and expecting help from that quarter.³² In the psychological sense this means that complexes weighing on the soul are *consciously* transferred to the God-image. This, it should be noted, is the direct opposite of an act of repression, where the complexes are handed over to an unconscious authority, inasmuch as one prefers to forget them.

³² Cf. 1 Peter 4:7. and Philemon, vv. 4 and 6



But in any religious discipline it is of the highest importance that one should remain conscious of one's difficulties—in other words of one's sins. An excellent means to this end is the mutual confession of sin (James 5:16), which effectively prevents one from becoming unconscious.³² These measures aim at keeping the conflicts conscious and that is also a *sine qua non* of the psychotherapeutic procedure. Just as medical treatment appoints the person of the doctor to take over the conflicts of his patients so Christian practice appoints the Saviour, in whom we have redemption through his blood the forgiveness of sins.³⁴ He is the deliverer and redeemer of our guilt, a God who stands above sin who committed no sin, no guile was found on his lips.³⁵ who himself bore our sins in his body on the tree.³⁶ So Christ was once sacrificed to take away the sins of many.³⁷ This God is characterized as being himself innocent and a self-sacrificer. The conscious projection at which Christian education aims therefore brings a double psychic benefit: firstly one keeps oneself conscious of the conflict (sin) of two mutually opposing tendencies thus preventing a known suffering from turning into an unknown one, which is far more tormenting by being repressed and forgotten; and secondly one lightens one's burden by surrendering it to God, to whom all solutions are known. But as we have said the divine figure is in the first place a psychic image, a complex of archetypal ideas which fully equates with a metaphysical entity. Science has no competence to pass judgment on this equation; on the contrary it must pursue its explanations without resorting to any such hypothesis. It can only establish that instead of an objective human being there appears an apparently subjective figure, i.e., a complex of ideas. This complex, as experience has shown, possesses a certain functional autonomy and has proved itself to be a psychic existent. That is what psychological experience is primarily concerned with, and to that extent this experience can be an object of science. Science can only establish the existence of psychic factors, and provided that we do not overstep these limits with

³² Cf. 1 John 1:8 "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us" (RSV, also nn. 31-32).
³⁴ 1 Peter 2:24 "He himself bore our sins in his body on the tree, that he might free us from all iniquity, and purify to himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works."
³⁵ 1 Peter 2:22 "He committed no sin, neither was any guile found in his mouth."
³⁶ 1 Peter 2:24 "He himself bore our sins in his body on the tree, that he might free us from all iniquity, and purify to himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works."
³⁷ Hebrews 9:28 "Christ was sacrificed once to take away the sins of many."
³⁸ 1 Peter 2:21 "For ye have been called to follow his steps, who suffered for us, that we might obtain the redemption of the body by his blood, that we might present ourselves to God, as living sacrifices, holy, without blemish, and our affection joined to God."

professions of faith, in all so-called metaphysical problems we find ourselves confronted exclusively with psychic existents. These, in accordance with their nature, are intimately interwoven with the individual personality and are therefore subject to all manner of variations, unlike the postulates of faith whose uniformity and permanence are guaranteed by tradition and by institutional religion. The epistemological boundaries set by the scientific standpoint make it inevitable that the religious figure appears essentially as a psychic factor which can only be separated theoretically from the individual psyche. And the more it is so separated, the more it loses its plasticity and concreteness, since it owes its explicit form and vitality precisely to its intimate connection with the individual psyche. The scientific approach makes the divine figure, which faith posits as being the supreme certainty, into a variable and hardly definable quantity, although it cannot cast doubt on its actuality (in the psychological sense). Science therefore puts, in place of the certainty of faith, the uncertainty of human knowledge. The resultant change of attitude is not without serious consequences for the individual: his conscious mind sees itself isolated in a world of psychic factors, and only the utmost caution and conscientiousness can prevent him from assimilating them and from identifying them with himself. This danger is all the greater because, in his immediate experience of dreams, visions, etc., the religious figures show a marked tendency to appear in the most varied forms; they often clothe themselves so convincingly in the stuff of the individual psyche that it remains a moot point whether they are not in the last resort produced by the subject himself. That is an illusion of the conscious mind, but a very common one.²⁸ In reality all inner experience springs from the unconscious, over which we have no control. *But the unconscious is nature, which never deceives: only we deceive ourselves.* Thus, inasmuch as the scientific approach disregards metaphysics, basing itself entirely on verifiable experience, it plunges us straight into the uncertainty which is conditioned by the variability of everything psychic. It emphasizes outright the subjectivity of religious experience, thereby offering an open

²⁸ As I have shown above, it is not always an illusion, for the subject himself can be the main source of these figures, as is particularly the case in neuroses and psychoses.

threat to the solidarity of faith This long felt and ever present danger is countered by the institution of the Christian community, whose psychological significance is best expressed in the command in the Epistle of James Confess your sins to one another ³⁹ Again it is emphasized as being especially important to preserve the community through mutual love the Pauline commands leave no doubts on this score

Through love be servants of one another ⁴⁰

Let brotherly love continue ⁴¹

And let us consider how to stir up one another to love and good works not neglecting to meet together ⁴²

Fellowship in the Christian community appears to be a condition of salvation or however one chooses to describe the desired state The First Epistle of John expresses similar views

He who loves his brother abides in the light But he who hates his brother is in the darkness ⁴³

No man has ever seen God if we love one another God abides in us and his love is perfected in us ⁴⁴

We have already referred to the mutual confession of sin and the transference of psychic difficulties to the divine figure Between it and man there thus arises an intimate bond Yet man should be bound through love not to God alone but also to his fellows The latter relation indeed seems to be just as essential as the former If God dwells in us only when we love our brother we might be led to suppose that love is even more important than God This is not so absurd when we consider the words of Hugh of St Victor

You have great power O Love you alone could draw God down from heaven to earth O how strong is your bond with which even God could be bound You brought him bound with your bonds you brought him wounded with your arrows you wounded him who was invulnerable you bound him who was invincible you drew down him who was immovable the Eternal you made mortal O Love how great is your victory! ⁴⁵

³⁹ James 5 16 An l Galatians 6 2 Bear one another's burdens (RSV an l nn 40 44) ⁴⁰ Galatians 5 3 ⁴¹ 1st John 4 12

⁴² 1st John 4 12 of ⁴³ 1st John 4 12 ⁴⁴ Magnam ergo v m l abes caritas tu sola Deum trahere potisti de caelo ad terras O q am forte est vincit m t um quo et Deus l gari potuit Adduxisti illi m v nctis tuis alligat m adduxisti illum sagat t u s vulneratum Vul

Accordingly, love would seem to be no trifling thing: it is God himself.⁴⁶ But, on the other hand, "love" is an extreme example of anthropomorphism and, together with hunger, the immemorial psychic driving-force of humanity. It is, psychologically considered, a function of relationship on the one hand and a feeling-toned psychic condition on the other, which, as we have seen, practically coincides with the God-image. There can be no doubt that love has an instinctual determinant; it is an activity peculiar to mankind, and, if the language of religion defines God as "love," there is always the great danger of confusing the love which works in man with the workings of God. This is an obvious instance of the above-mentioned fact that the archetype is inextricably interwoven with the individual psyche, so that the greatest care is needed to differentiate the collective type, at least conceptually, from the personal psyche. In practice, however, this differentiation is not without danger if human "love" is thought of as the prerequisite for the divine presence (I John 4: 12).

⁹⁸ No doubt this presents those who would like to keep the man-to-God relationship free from psychology with no small problem. But for the psychologist the situation is not so complicated. "Love," in his experience, proves to be the power of fate par excellence, whether it manifests itself as base *concupiscentia* or as the most spiritual affection. It is one of the mightiest movers of humanity. If it is conceived as "divine," this designation falls to it with absolute right, since the mightiest force in the psyche has always been described as "God." Whether we believe in God or not, whether we marvel or curse, the word "God" is always on our lips. Anything psychically powerful is invariably called "God." At the same time "God" is set over against man and expressly set apart from him. But love is common to both. It belongs to man in so far as he is its master, and to the daemon if ever he becomes its object or its victim. This means, psychologically, that the libido, regarded as the force of desire and aspiration, as psychic energy in the widest sense,

nerasti impassibilem, ligasti insuperabilem, traxisti incommutabilem, aeternum fecisti mortalem. . . . O caritas quanta est victoria tua!"—*De laude caritatis*, cols 974f.

⁴⁶ I John 4: 16: "God is love, and he who abides in love abides in God, and God abides in him" (RSV).

stands in part at the disposal of the ego and in part confronts the ego autonomously sometimes influencing it so powerfully that it is either put in a position of unwilling constraint or else discovers in the libido itself a new and unexpected source of strength. Since the relation of the unconscious to the conscious mind is not merely mechanical or complementary but rather compensatory taking its cue from the anfractuosités of the conscious attitude the intelligent character of this unconscious activity can hardly be denied. Experiences like these make it immediately understandable why the God image is so often regarded as a personal being.

Now since a man's *spiritual vocation* in the widest sense has been thrust upon him to an increasing degree by the unconscious⁴⁷ this naturally gave rise to the view that the God image was a spirit who required man's spirit. This is not an invention of Christianity or of philosophy but a common human experience to which even the atheist bears witness (The important thing is *what* he talks about not whether he agrees with it or not). The other definition of God therefore asserts: God is spirit.⁴⁸ The pneumatic God image has been further attenuated as the Logos and this gives the love of God that peculiarly abstract quality which is also apparent in the idea of Christian love.

It is this spiritual love which is actually far more appropriate to the God image than to man that is supposed to hold the human community together.

Welcome one another therefore as Christ has welcomed you for the glory of God.⁴⁹

It is obvious that since Christ welcomed men with divine love men's love for one another should also have and indeed can have a spiritual and divine quality. However it is not so obvious from the psychological point of view since as a rule the energy of an archetype is not at the disposal of the conscious mind. Hence the specifically human forms of love are very rightly not regarded as either spiritual or divine. The energy of an archetype communicates itself to the ego only.

⁴⁷ One cannot of one's own free will choose and desire something that one does not know. Hence a spiritual goal cannot consciously be striven for if it does not yet exist.

⁴⁸ John 4:24 (RSV)

⁴⁹ Romans 5:7 (RSV)

when the latter has been influenced or gripped by an autonomous action of the archetype. From this psychological fact one would have to conclude that the man who practises a spiritual form of love has already been gripped by something akin to a *donum gratiae*, for he could hardly be expected to be capable of usurping, on his own resources, a divine action such as that love is. But by virtue of the *donum amoris* he becomes capable of taking God's place in this respect. It is a psychological fact that an archetype can seize hold of the ego and even compel it to act as it—the archetype—wills. A man can then take on archetypal dimensions and exercise corresponding effects; he can appear in the place of God, so that it is not only possible, but quite sensible, for other men to act towards him as they act towards God. We know that, in the Catholic Church, this possibility has become an institution whose psychological efficacy cannot be doubted. From this intimate relationship there arises a community of an archetypal order which is distinguished from all other communities by the fact that its aim or purpose is not immanent in mankind and not directed to utilitarian ends, but is a transcendental symbol whose nature corresponds to the peculiarity of the ruling archetype.

102 The closer relations between men thus made possible by such a community produce a psychological intimacy which touches on the personal instinctual sphere of "human" love and therefore harbours certain dangers. Above all, the power and sex instincts are inevitably constellated. Intimacy creates various short-cuts between people and is only too likely to lead to the very thing from which Christianity seeks to deliver them, namely to those all too-human attractions and their necessary consequences, which had already been the bane of the highly civilized man at the beginning of our Christian era. Religious experience in antiquity was frequently conceived as bodily union with the deity,⁵⁰ and certain cults were saturated with sexuality of every

⁵⁰ Cf. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, p. 20 "To the various forms in which primitive peoples have envisaged the supreme religious sacrament, union with God, there necessarily belongs that of sexual union, through which man takes into himself the innermost essence and power of a god, his semen. What is at first a wholly sensual idea becomes, independently in different parts of the world, a sacred act, where the god is represented by a human deputy or by his symbol the phallus." Further material in Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, pp. 121ff.

kind Sexuality was all too close to the relations of people with one another. The moral degeneracy of the first centuries of the Christian era produced a moral reaction which then, in the second and third centuries, after germinating in the darkness of the lowest strata of society, expressed itself at its purest in the two mutually antagonistic religions, Christianity and Mithraism. These religions strove after precisely that higher form of social intercourse symbolized by a projected ('incarnate') idea (the Logos), whereby all the strongest impulses of man—which formerly had flung him from one passion to another and seemed to the ancients like the compulsion of evil stars, *Heimarmene*,⁶¹ or like what we psychologists would call the *compulsion of libido*⁶²—could be made available for the maintenance of so-

⁶¹ Cf. the prayers in the so-called Mithras liturgy (published in 1910 by Dieterich, *ibid*). There we find such characteristic passages as *τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ μου ψυχῇ δύναμιν ἢ ἐγὼ πάλιν μεταπαρληψόμεαι μετὰ τὴν ἐπιστῶσαν καὶ κατασκευάσας με πικρὴν ἀνάγκην ἀχρεοκόρητον* (my human soul force which I shall recover again undiminished after the present bitter necessity that presses upon me) and *ἐπεὶ τῇ ἀσπεριγούσῃ καὶ πικρᾷ ἀπαραίτητον ἀνάγκῃ* (because of the bitter inexorable necessity that oppresses me). The speech of the high priest of Isis (Apuleius *The Golden Ass*, XI 15) reveals a similar train of thought. The young philosopher Lucius was changed into an ass that ever ruminating animal hateful to Isis. Later he was released from the spell and initiated into the mysteries (Cf. pl. vi). During his disenchantment the priest says: On the slippery path of your lusty youth you fell a prey to servile pleasures and won a sinister reward for your ill-fated curiosity. But hostile fortune has no power over those who have devoted their lives to serve the honour and majesty of our goddess. Now you are safe and under the protection of that fortune which is not blind but can see. In his prayer to Isis Queen of Heaven Lucius says (XI 25) thy saving hand, wherewith thou unweavest even the inextricably tangled web of fate and assuagest the tempests of fortune and restraints the baleful orbus of the stars. Altogether the purpose of the mysteries (pl. ivb) was to break the compulsion of the stars by magic power.

The power of fate makes itself felt unpleasantly only when everything goes against our will; that is to say when we are no longer in harmony with our selves. The ancients accordingly brought *εὐμαρτυρία* into relation with the primal light or primal fire, the Stoic conception of the ultimate cause or all-pervading warmth which produced everything and is therefore fate (Cf. Cumont *The Mysteries of Mithra* p. 114). This warmth as will be shown later is a libido image (cf. fig. 4). Another conception of Ananke (Necessity) according to Zoroaster's book *Περὶ Φύσεως* (On Nature) is air which in the form of wind is again connected with the fertilizing agent.

⁶² Schiller says in *Piccolomini* II 6 "The stars of thine own fate lie in thy breast. A man's fortunes are the fruits of his character" says Emerson, in his essay *Fate*, in *The Conduct of Life* (Works, VI p. 41).

ciety. As one example among many others, I would cite St. Augustine's description of the fate of Alypius, in his *Confessions*:

But at Carthage the maelstrom of ill morals—and especially the passion for idle spectacles—had sucked him in, his special madness being for gladiatorial shows. . . . As a result of what he had heard me say, he wrenched himself out of the deep pit in which he had chosen to be plunged and in the darkness of whose pleasures he had been so woefully blinded. He braced his mind and shook it till all the filth of the Games fell away from it and he went no more. . . .

In pursuit of the worldly career whose necessity his parents were always dinning into his ears, he had gone before me to Rome to study Law; and there he had been, incredibly, carried away again by an incredible passion for gladiatorial shows. He had turned from such things and utterly detested them. But it happened one day that he met some friends and fellow students coming from dinner: and though he flatly refused and vigorously resisted, they used friendly violence and forced him along with them to the amphitheatre on a day of these cruel and murderous Games. He protested: "Even if you drag my body to the place, can you force me to turn my mind and my eyes on the show? Though there, I shall not be there, and so I shall defeat both you and it."

Hearing this his companions led him on all the faster, wishing to discover whether he could do as he had said. When they had reached the Arena and had got such seats as they could, the whole place was in a frenzy of hideous delight. He closed up the door of his eyes and forbade his mind to pay attention to things so evil. If only he could have stopped his ears too! For at a certain critical point in the fight, the vast roar of the whole audience beat upon him. His curiosity got the better of him, and thinking that he would be able to treat the sight with scorn—whatever the sight might be—he opened his eyes, and was stricken with a deeper wound in the soul than the man he had opened his eyes to see suffered in the body. He fell more miserably than the gladiator whose fall had set the crowd to that roar—a roar which had entered his ears and unlocked his eyes, so that his soul was stricken and beaten down. But in truth the reason was that its courage had so far been only audaciousness, and it was weak because it had relied upon itself when it should have trusted only in You. Seeing the blood he drank deep of the savagery. He did not turn away but fixed his gaze upon the sight. He drank in all the frenzy, with no thought of what had happened to him, revelled in the wickedness of the contest, and was drunk with lust for

blood. He was no longer the man who had come there but one of the crowd to which he had come a fit companion for those who had brought him.

What more need I say? He continued to gaze, shouted, grew hot and when he departed took with him a madness by which he was goaded to come back again not only with those who at first took him there but even more than they and leading on others.⁵³

103 One can take it as certain that man's domestication cost him the heaviest sacrifices. An age which created the Stoic ideal must doubtless have known why and against what it was set up. The age of Nero provides an effective foil for the celebrated passage from the forty-first letter of Seneca to Lucilius.

We push one another into vice. And how can a man be recalled to salvation when he has none to restrain him and all mankind to urge him on?

If you see a man who is unterrified in the midst of dangers, untouched by desires, happy in adversity, peaceful amid the storm, who looks down upon men from a higher plane and views the gods on a footing of equality, will not a feeling of reverence for him steal over you? Will you not say: This quality is too great and too lofty to be regarded as resembling this petty body in which it dwells. A divine power has descended upon that man. When a soul rises superior to other souls, when it is under control, when it passes through every experience as if it were of small account, when it smiles at our fears and at our prayers, it is stirred by a force from heaven. A thing like this cannot stand upright unless it be propped by the divine. There fore a greater part of it abides in that place from whence it came down to earth. Just as the rays of the sun do indeed touch the earth but still abide at the source from which they are sent, even so the great and hallowed soul which has come down in order that we may have a nearer knowledge of divinity does indeed associate with us but still cleaves to its origin, on that source it depends, thither it turns its gaze and strives to go, and it concerns itself with our doings only as a being superior to ourselves.⁵⁴

04 The men of that age were ripe for identification with the word made flesh for the founding of a community united by

⁵³ *The Confessions of St. Augustine* VI 7-8 trans. by Sheed pp. 88-9 slightly modified.

⁵⁴ Seneca *Ad Lucilium epistolae morales* trans. by Gummere I pp. 278f. 274f.

an idea,⁵⁵ in the name of which they could love one another and call each other brothers.⁵⁶ The old idea of a *μεσότης*, of a mediator in whose name new ways of love would be opened, became a fact, and with that human society took an immense stride forward. This was not the result of any speculative, sophisticated philosophy, but of an elementary need in the great masses of humanity vegetating in spiritual darkness. They were evidently driven to it by the profoundest inner necessities, for humanity does not thrive in a state of licentiousness.⁵⁷ The meaning of these cults—Christianity and Mithraism—is clear: moral subjugation of the animal instincts.⁵⁸ The spread of both these religions betrays something of that feeling of redemption which animated their first adherents, and which we can scarcely appreciate today. We can hardly realize the whirlwinds of brutality and unchained libido that roared through the streets of Imperial Rome. But we would know that feeling again if

⁵⁵ The ascent to the "idea" is described in Augustine, *Confessions*, Book X, ch. 6ff. The beginning of ch. 8 reads "I shall mount beyond this power of my nature, still rising by degrees towards Him who made me. And so I come to the fields and vast palaces of memory" (Trans. by Sheed, p. 172.)

⁵⁶ The followers of Mithras also called themselves brothers. In philosophical language, Mithras was the Logos emanated by God (Cumont, *Mysteries*, p. 140).
⁵⁷ Augustine, who was close to that period of transition not only in time but intellectually too, writes in his *Confessions* (Book VI, ch. 16; Sheed trans., pp. 99-100): "And I put the question, supposing we were immortals and could live in perpetual enjoyment of the body without any fear of loss, why should we not then be happy, or what else should we seek? I did not realize that it belonged to the very heart of my wretchedness to be so drowned and blinded in it that I could not conceive the light of honour, and of beauty loved for its own sake, which the eye of the flesh does not see but only the innermost soul. I was so blind that I never came to ask myself what was the source of the pleasure I found in discussing these ideas (worthless as they were) with friends, and of my inability to be happy without friends, even in the sense of happiness which I then held, no matter how great the abundance of carnal pleasure. For truly I loved my friends for their own sake, and I knew that I was in turn loved by them. O tortuous ways! Woe to my soul with its rash hope of finding something better if it forsook Thee! My soul turned and turned again, on back and sides and belly, and the bed was always hard. For thou alone art her rest."

⁵⁸ Both religions teach a distinctly ascetic morality and a morality of action. The latter is particularly true of Mithraism. Cumont (p. 147) says that Mithraism owed its success to the value of its morality, "which above all things favoured action." The followers of Mithras formed a "sacred army" in the fight against evil (p. 148), and among them were *virgines*, 'nuns', and *continentes*, 'ascetics' (p. 165).

ever we understood, clearly and in all its consequences what is happening under our very eyes. The civilized man of today seems very far from that. He has merely become neurotic. For us the needs of the Christian community have gone by the board, we no longer understand their meaning. We do not even know against what it is meant to protect us.⁵⁹ For enlightened people, the need for religion is next door to neurosis.⁶⁰ It must be admitted that the Christian emphasis on spirit inevitably leads to an unbearable depreciation of man's physical side, and thus produces a sort of optimistic caricature of human nature. He gets too good and too spiritual a picture of himself, and becomes too naive and optimistic. In two world wars the abyss has opened out again and taught us the most frightful lesson that can be imagined. We now know what human beings are capable of, and what lies in store for us if ever again the mass psyche gets the upper hand. Mass psychology is egoism raised to an inconceivable power, for its goal is immanent and not transcendent.

105 Let us now turn back to the question from which we started, namely, whether or not Miss Miller has created anything of value with her poem. If we bear in mind the psychological and moral conditions under which Christianity came to birth, in an age when the crudest brutality was in everyday spectacle, we can understand the religious convulsion of the whole personality and the value of a religion that protected people living in the Roman sphere of culture from the visible onslaughts of wickedness. It was not difficult for those people to remain conscious of

⁵⁹ I have intentionally let these sentences stand from the earlier editions as they typify the false *fin de siècle* sense of security. Since then we have experienced abominations of desolation of which Rome never dreamed. As regards the social conditions in the Roman Empire I would refer the reader to Pöhlmann (*Geschichte des antiken Kommunismus und Sozialismus*) and Bucher (*Die Aufstände der unfreien Arbeiter 143-129 B.C.*). The fact that an incredibly large proportion of the people languished in the black misery of slavery is no doubt one of the main causes of the singular melancholy that reigned all through the time of the Caesars. It was not in the long run possible for those who wallowed in pleasure not to be infected through the mysterious working of the unconscious by the deep sadness and still deeper wretchedness of their brothers. As a result the former were driven to orgiastic frenzy while the latter the better of them fell into the strange *Weltschmerz* and world weariness typical of the intellectuals of that age.

⁶⁰ Unfortunately Freud too has made himself guilty of this error.

sin, for they saw it every day spread out before their eyes. Miss Miller not only underestimates her "sins," but the connection between the "bitter inexorable necessity" and her religious product has altogether escaped her. The poem thus loses the living value of a religious work of art. It seems to be not much more than a sentimental rehash of an erotic experience, slyly working itself out on the fringe of consciousness and having about the same ethical value as a dream, which is also none of our doing.

106 To the degree that the modern mind is passionately concerned with anything and everything rather than religion, religion and its prime object—original sin—have mostly vanished into the unconscious. That is why, today, nobody believes in either. People accuse psychology of dealing in squalid fantasies, and yet even a cursory glance at ancient religions and the history of morals should be sufficient to convince them of the demons hidden in the human soul. This disbelief in the devilishness of human nature goes hand in hand with the blank incomprehension of religion and its meaning. The unconscious conversion of instinctual impulses into religious activity is ethically worthless, and often no more than an hysterical outburst, even though its products may be aesthetically valuable. Ethical decision is possible only when one is conscious of the conflict in all its aspects. The same is true of the religious attitude: it must be fully conscious of itself and of its foundations if it is to signify anything more than unconscious imitation.⁶¹

107 Through centuries of educational training, Christianity subdued the animal instincts of antiquity and of the ensuing ages of barbarism to the point where a large amount of instinctual energy could be set free for the building of civilization. The effect of this training showed itself, to begin with, in a fundamental change of attitude, namely in the alienation from reality, the otherworldliness of the early Christian centuries. It was an age that strove after inwardness and spiritual abstraction.

⁶¹ A theologian, who accuses me of being anti Christian, has completely overlooked the fact that Christ never said "Unless ye remain as little children," but, most emphatically, "Unless ye become as little children." His accusation is proof of a remarkable dulness of religious sensibility. One cannot, after all, ignore the whole drama of rebirth in *notam infantiam*!

Nature was abhorrent to man One has only to think of the passage in St Augustine quoted by Jacob Burckhardt

And men go forth and admire lofty mountains and broad seas and turn away from themselves⁶²

08 But it was not only the aesthetic beauty of the world that distracted their senses and lured them away from concentrating on a spiritual and supramundane goal There were also diemonic or magical influences emanating from nature herself

109 The foremost authority on the Mithraic cult Franz Cumont describes the classical feeling for nature as follows

The gods were everywhere and they mingled in all the events of daily life The fire that cooked the food and warmed the bodies of the faithful the water that allayed their thirst and cleansed them the very air they breathed and the light that shone for them all were objects of their adoration Perhaps no other religion has ever offered to its votaries in so high a degree as Mithraism opportunities for prayer and motives for veneration When the initiate betook himself in the evening to the sacred grotto concealed in the solitude of the forest at every step new sensations awakened in his heart some mystical emotion The stars that shone in the sky the wind that whispered in the foliage the spring or brook that hastened murmuring to the valley even the earth which he trod under his feet were in his eyes divine and all surrounding nature evoked in him a worshipful fear of the infinite forces that swayed the universe⁶³

10 This religious oneness with nature is beautifully described by Seneca

When you enter a grove peopled with ancient trees higher than the ordinary and shutting out the sky with their thickly intertwining branches do not the stately shadows of the wood the stillness of the place and the awful gloom of this domed cavern then strike you as with the presence of a deity? Or when you see a cave penetrating into the rock at the foot of an overhanging mountain not made by human hands but hollowed out to a great depth by nature is not your soul suffused with a religious fear? We worship the sources of great rivers we erect altars at the place where a sudden rush of water bursts from the bowels of the earth warm springs we adore and

⁶² Confessions \ 8 cited in Burckhardt *The Renaissance in Italy* p. 181

⁶³ Cumont *The Mysteries of Mithra* p. 149 mod. fed.

certain pools we hold sacred on account of their sombre darkness or their immense depth.⁶⁴

- 111 Sharply contrasting with this ancient nature worship is the Christian aversion from the world, as described in the most poignant language in the *Confessions* of St. Augustine:

What do I love when I love my God? Not the beauty of any bodily thing, not the graciousness of the times, nor the splendour of the light that rejoices the eye, nor the sweet melodies of richly varied songs; not the fragrance of flowers and sweet-smelling ointments and spices, not manna and honey, nor the fair limbs whose embraces are pleasant to the flesh. None of these do I love when I love my God; and yet I love a kind of light, and a kind of melody, and a kind of fragrance, and a kind of savour, and a kind of embracement when I love my God, who is the light and the melody and the fragrance and the savour and the embracement of my inner man; where that light shines into my soul which no space can contain, that melody sounds which no time takes away, that fragrance smells which no wind scatters, that savour tastes which no gluttony diminishes, and that embracement is enjoyed which no satiety can put apart. That is what I love when I love my God.⁶⁵

- 112 The world and its beauty had to be shunned, not only because of their vanity and transitoriness, but because love of created nature soon makes man its slave. As St. Augustine says (X, 6): ". . . they love these things too much and become subject to them, and subjects cannot judge."⁶⁶ One would certainly think it possible to love something, to have a positive attitude towards it, without supinely succumbing to it and losing one's power of rational judgment. But Augustine knew his contemporaries, and knew furthermore how much godliness and god-like power dwelt in the beauty of the world.

Since you alone govern the universe, and without you nothing rises into the bright realm of light, and nothing joyous or lovely can come to be. . . .⁶⁷

⁶⁴ [Cf. Gummere trans., pp. 272-75.]

⁶⁵ *Confessions*, X, 6, trans. based on Sheed, p. 170

⁶⁶ Trans. by Sheed, p. 171

⁶⁷ Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, I, 21-24 [cf. Rouse trans., pp. 4-5]:

"Quae quoniam rerum naturam sola gubernas,
Nec sine te quicquam dias in luminis oras
Exoritur, neque sit laetum neque amabile quicquam"



Π Α Ν Τ Ω Ν Τ Ο Κ Λ Α Δ Ι
Fig. 1 The Mother of All Living

From the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, Venice 1499

- 13 Thus Lucretius extols *alma Venus* as the ruling principle of nature. To such a *daimonion* man falls an abject victim unless he can categorically reject its seductive influence at the outset. It is not merely a question of sensuality and of aesthetic corruption but—and this is the point—of paganism and nature-worship (Fig. 1). Because gods dwell in created things man

falls to worshipping them, and for that reason he must turn away from them utterly lest he be overwhelmed. In this respect the fate of Alypius is extremely instructive. If the flight from the world is successful, man can then build up an inner, spiritual world which stands firm against the onslaught of sense-impressions. The struggle with the world of the senses brought to birth a type of thinking independent of external factors. Man won for himself that *sovereignty of the idea* which was able to withstand the aesthetic impact, so that thought was no longer fettered by the emotional effect of sense-impressions, but could assert itself and even rise, later, to reflection and observation. Man was now in a position to enter into a new and independent relationship with nature, to go on building upon the foundations which the classical spirit had laid,⁶⁸ and to take up once more the natural link which the Christian retreat from the world had let fall. On this newly-won spiritual level there was forged an alliance with the world and nature which, unlike the old attitude, did not collapse before the magic of external objects, but could regard them in the steady light of reflection. Nevertheless, the attention lavished upon natural objects was infused with something of the old religious piety, and something of the old religious ethic communicated itself to scientific truthfulness and honesty. Although at the time of the Renaissance the antique feeling for nature visibly broke through in art⁶⁹ and in natural philosophy,⁷⁰ and for a while thrust the Christian principle into the background, the newly-won rational and intellectual stability of the human mind nevertheless managed to hold its own and allowed it to penetrate further and further into depths of nature that earlier ages had hardly suspected. The more successful the penetration and advance of the new scientific spirit proved to be, the more the latter—as is usually the case with the victor—became the prisoner of the world it had conquered. At the beginning of the present century a Christian writer could still regard the modern spirit as a sort of second incarnation of the Logos. "The deeper comprehension of the spirit of nature in modern painting and poetry,"

⁶⁸ Cf. Kerényi, 'Die Göttin Natur,' pp. 50ff

⁶⁹ Cf. Hartlaub, *Giorgiones Geheimnis*

⁷⁰ Particularly in alchemy. See my 'Paracelsus as a Spiritual Phenomenon,' parts 184, 198f., 228f.

writes Kalthoff the living intuition which science is no longer willing to dispense with even in its most arduous endeavours demonstrate how the Logos of Greek philosophy which gave to the early Christ ideal its cosmic position is divesting itself of its transcendental character and entering upon a new incarnation.⁷¹ It did not take us long to realize that it was less a question of the incarnation of the Logos than of the descent of the Anthropos or Nous into the dark embrace of Physis. The world had not only been deprived of its gods but had lost its soul. Through the shifting of interest from the inner to the outer world our knowledge of nature was increased a thousandfold in comparison with earlier ages but knowledge and experience of the inner world were correspondingly reduced. The religious interest which ought normally to be the greatest and most decisive factor turned away from the inner world and the great figures of dogma dwindled to strange and incomprehensible vestiges a prey to every sort of criticism. Even modern psychology has the greatest difficulty in vindicating the human soul's right to existence and in making it credible that the soul is a mode of being with properties that can be investigated and therefore a suitable object for scientific study that it is not something attached to an outside but has an autonomous inside too and a life of its own that it is not just an ego-consciousness but an existent which in all essentials can only be inferred indirectly. To people who think otherwise the myths and dogmas of the Church are bound to appear as a collection of absurd and impossible statements. Modern rationalism is a process of sham enlightenment and even prides itself morally on its iconoclastic tendencies. Most people are satisfied with the not very intelligent view that the whole purpose of dogma is to state a flat impossibility. That it could be the symbolic expression of a definite idea with a definite content is something that occurs to hardly anybody. For how can one possibly know what that idea really is! And what I do not know simply does not exist. Therefore for this enlightened stupidity there is no non-conscious psyche.

¹ Symbols are not allegories and not signs they are images of contents which for the most part transcend consciousness. We have still to discover that such contents are real that they are

⁷¹ Kalthoff *The Rise of Christ* ch. 17 p. 200 (trans. modified)

agents with which it is not only possible but absolutely necessary for us to come to terms⁷² While making this discovery, we shall not fail to understand what dogma is about, what it formulates, and the reason for its existence⁷³

⁷² See my "Relations between the Ego and the Unconscious" pars 353ff

⁷³ When I wrote this book these things were still completely dark to me and I knew no other counsel but to quote to myself the following passage from the 41st letter of Seneca to Lucilius (Gummere trans pp 272-73) You are doing an excellent thing one which will be wholesome for you if you persist in your effort to attain sound understanding it is foolish to pray for this when you can acquire it from yourself We do not need to uplift our hands towards heaven or to beg the keeper of a temple to let us approach his idol's ear as if in this way our prayers were more likely to be heard God is near you he is with you he is within you This is what I mean Lucilius a holy spirit indwells within us one who works our good and bad deeds and is our guardian As we treat this spirit so we are treated by it Indeed no man can be good without the help of God Can one rise superior to fortune unless God helps him to rise? He it is that gives noble and upright counsel In each good man a god doth dwell but what god we know not.

V

THE SONG OF THE MOTH

15 Shortly after the events described above, Miss Miller travelled from Geneva to Paris. She says

My fatigue on the train was such that I hardly slept an hour. It was horribly hot in the ladies' compartment.

16 At four o'clock in the morning she noticed a moth fluttering round the light in the carriage. She then tried to go to sleep again. Suddenly the following poem sprang into her mind.

The Moth to the Sun

I longed for thee when first I crawled to consciousness,
My dreams were all of thee when in the chrysalis I lay
Oft myriads of my kind beat out their lives
Against some feeble spark once caught from thee
And one hour more—and my poor life is gone
Yet my last effort as my first desire shall be
But to approach thy glory then having gained
One raptured glance I'll die content
For I the source of beauty, warmth and life
Have in his perfect splendor once beheld!

17 Before we go into the material which Miss Miller offers for an understanding of the poem we will again cast a glance over the psychological situation in which the poem arose. Some weeks or months appear to have elapsed since the last direct manifestation of the unconscious. About this period we have no information—we know nothing of her moods and fantasies during the interval. If any conclusion is to be drawn from this silence it is that nothing of real importance has happened during the time between the two poems and that the new poem is another verbalized fragment reflecting the unconscious working out of

the complex that had been going on for months. It is highly probable that it is concerned with the same conflict as before.¹ The earlier product, the Hymn of Creation, bears, however, little resemblance to the present poem. This has a truly hopeless and melancholy character: moth and sun, two things that never meet. But, we must ask, is a moth really expected to reach the sun? We all know the proverbial saying about the moth that flies into the flame and burns its wings, but we know of no legend about a moth that strives towards the sun. Evidently there is a condensation here of two things that do not really belong together: firstly the moth which flies round the light till it burns its wings; secondly the image of a tiny ephemeral being, the May fly perhaps, which in pathetic contrast to the eternity of the stars longs for the imperishable light. This image is reminiscent of Faust, where he says:

Mark, now, the glimmering in the leafy glades
Of dwellings gilded by the setting sun.
Now slants the fiery god towards the west,
Hasting away, but seeking in his round
New life afar: I long to join his quest,
On tireless wings uplifted from the ground.
Then should I see, in deathless evening light,
The world in cradled stillness at my feet . . .
And now at length the sun god seems to sink,
Yet stirs my heart with new awakened might,
The streams of quenchless light I long to drink,
Before me day and, far behind, the night,
The heavens above me, and the waves below:
A lovely dream, but gone with set of sun.
Ah me, the pinions by the spirit won
Bring us no flight that mortal clay can know.²

¹¹⁸ A little later, Faust sees the "black dog scampering through corn and stubble"—the poodle who is the devil himself, the Tempter in whose hellish fires Faust will soon singe his wings. Believing that he was expressing his great longing for the beauty

¹ Complexes are usually of great stability even though their outward manifestations change kaleidoscopically. Experimental researches have entirely convinced me of this fact. See my "Studies in Word Association."

² Part I, trans. by Wayne, pp 66-67

of sun and earth, he turned away from himself and fell into the hands of the Evil One

Spurn this terrestrial sun,
Leave, resolute, its loveliness³

Faust had said to himself but a little while before, in true recognition of his danger—for the worship of Nature and her beauties leads the medieval Christian to pagan thoughts which stand in antagonistic relationship to his conscious religion, just as Mithraism was once the threatening rival of Christianity⁴. Faust's longing became his ruin. His longing for the other world brought in its train a loathing of life, so that he was on the brink of self destruction⁵. And his equally importunate longing for the beauties of this world plunged him into renewed ruin, doubt and wretchedness, which culminated in the tragedy of Gretchen's death. His mistake was that he made the worst of both worlds by blindly following the urge of his libido like a man overcome by strong and violent passions. Faust's conflict is a reflection of the collective conflict at the beginning of the Christian era, but in him, curiously enough it takes the opposite course. The fearful powers of seduction against which the Christian had to defend himself with his absolute hope in a world to come can be seen from the example of Alypius to which we have already referred. That civilization was foredoomed, because humanity itself revolted against it. We know that, even before the spread of Christianity, mankind was seized

³ Ibid. p. 51 modified

⁴ As the reader will be aware the last notoriously unsuccessful attempt to conquer Christianity with a nature religion was made by Julian the Apostate

⁵ This solution of the problem had its parallel in the flight from the world during the first few centuries after Christ (cities of the anchorites in the desert). The Desert Fathers mortified themselves through spirituality in order to escape the extreme brutality of the decadent Roman civilization. Asceticism occurs whenever the animal instincts are so strong that they need to be violently exterminated. Chamberlain (*Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*) saw asceticism as a biological suicide caused by the enormous amount of racial interbreeding among the Mediterranean peoples at that time. I believe that miscegenation makes rather for a coarsened *joie de vivre*. To all appearances the ascetics were ethical people who disgusted with the melancholy of the age which was merely an expression of the disruption of the individual put an end to their lives in order to mortify an attitude that was itself obsolete

by wild, eschatological hopes of redemption. This mood may well be reflected in Virgil's eclogue:

Now has come the last age foretold in the song of the Cumaean Sibyl; the great cycle of centuries begins anew. Now the Virgin⁶ returns, and the reign of Saturn is restored. Now a new generation comes down from high heaven. Only do thou, chaste Lucina, favour the birth of the child, through whom the iron brood shall cease to be, and a golden race arise throughout the world. Thine own Apollo now is king. . . . Under thy governance any lingering traces of our guilt shall be wiped out, and the earth shall be freed from its perpetual fear. He shall have the gift of divine life, shall see heroes consort with gods and shall himself be seen mingling with them, he shall rule over a world to which his father's virtues have brought peace.⁷

- 120 For many, the cult of asceticism that followed the wholesale expansion of Christianity denoted a new adventure: monasticism and the life of the anchorite. Faust takes the opposite road; for him the ascetic ideal is sheer death. He struggles for liberation and wins life by binding himself over to evil, thereby bringing about the death of what he loves most: Gretchen. He tears himself away from his grief and sacrifices his life in unceasing work, thus saving many lives.⁸ His double mission as saviour and destroyer had been hinted at from the beginning:

WAGNER: With what emotion must your noble soul

Receive the acclamations of the crowd . . .

FAUST: So, with a nostrum of this hellish sort,

We made these hills and valleys our resort,

And ravaged there more deadly than the pest.

These hands have ministered the deadly bane

⁶ *Alex*, Justice, daughter of Zeus and Themis, who after the Golden Age forsook the degenerate earth

⁷ *Bucolica*, Eclogue IV. Trans. based on Fairclough, I, pp. 28-31 (Cf. Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes*) Thanks to this eclogue, Virgil was later honoured as a quasi-Christian poet. To this position he also owes his function as psychopomp in Dante

⁸ "Below the hills a marshy plain
Is poisoning all that we have won.
This pestilential swamp to drain
Would crown the work I have begun,
Give many millions room to live" [Cf. MacNeice trans., p. 287]

To thousands who have perished; I remain
To hear cool murderers extolled and bless'd.⁹

21 What makes Goethe's *Faust* so profoundly significant is that it formulates a problem that had been brewing for centuries, just as *Oedipus* did for the Greek sphere of culture: how to extricate ourselves from between the Scylla of world renunciation and the Charybdis of its acceptance.

22 The hopeful note struck in the hymn to the Creator-God cannot long be sustained by our author. It is a pose that promises, but does not fulfil. The old longing will come back again, for a peculiar feature of all complexes that are simply left to work themselves out in the unconscious is that they lose nothing of their original affectivity, though their outward manifestations can change almost endlessly. One can therefore take the first poem as an unconscious attempt to solve the conflict by adopting a religious attitude, in much the same way as in earlier centuries people decided their conscious conflicts by the criterion of religion. This attempt fails. There now follows a second attempt, which is decidedly more worldly in tone, and unequivocal in meaning: "one raptured glance," and then—to die. From the supramundane sphere of religion her gaze turns, as in *Faust*,¹⁰ to "this terrestrial sun." And already there is mingled in it something with another meaning—the moth that flutters round the light until it burns its wings.

23 We now pass to what Miss Miller says about the poem:

This little poem made a profound impression on me. I could not at first find a sufficiently clear and direct explanation of it. But a few days afterwards, having again taken up a philosophical article that I had read in Berlin the previous winter, which had delighted me extremely, and reading it aloud to a friend, I came upon these words: "The same passionate longing of the moth for the star, of man for God. . . ." I had completely forgotten them, but it seemed to me quite obvious that these were the words that had reappeared in my

⁹ Part I, trans. by Wayne, pp. 64-65 modified

¹⁰ *FAUST*: I long to join his quest

On tireless wings uplifted from the ground
Then should I see, in deathless evening light,
The world in cradled stillness at my feet . . .
Yet stirs my heart with new awakened might,
The streams of quenchless light I long to drink . . ."

(Part I, trans. by Wayne, p. 66)

hypnagogic poem. Moreover, a play entitled *The Moth and the Flame*,¹¹ which I saw a few years ago, also came back to me as another possible source of my poem. You see how often the word *moth* has been impressed upon me!

¹²⁴ The profound impression the poem made on the author means that it expresses a correspondingly intense psychic content. In the "passionate longing" we meet the profound yearning of the moth for the star, and of man for God—in other words, the moth is Miss Miller herself. Her final remark that the word "moth" had often been impressed upon her shows how often she had noticed the "moth" as being a suitable name for herself. Her longing for God resembles the longing of the moth for the "star." The reader will remember that this word has already occurred in the earlier material: "When the morning stars sang together," with reference to the ship's officer singing in the night-watch. The passionate longing for God is like that longing for the singing morning star. We pointed out in the previous chapter that this analogy was only to be expected—*si parvis componere magna solebam*.

¹²⁵ It is, if you like, shameful and degrading that the more exalted longings of humanity, which alone make us what we are, should be so directly connected with an all-too-human passion. One is therefore inclined, despite the undeniability of the facts, to dispute the connection. What? A helmsman with bronzed skin and black mustachios, and the loftiest ideas of religion? Impossible! We do not doubt the incommensurability of these two objects, but one thing at least they have in common: both are the object of a passionate desire, and it remains to be seen whether the nature of the object alters the quality of the libido, or whether it is the same desire in both cases, i.e., the same emotional process. It is not at all certain psychologically—to use a banal comparison—whether appetite as such has anything to do with the quality of the object desired. Outwardly, of course, it is of some importance *which* object is desired, but inwardly it is at least as important to know what kind of desire it is. Desire can be instinctual, compulsive, uninhibited, uncontrolled, greedy, irrational, sensual, etc., or it may be rational, considered, controlled, co-ordinated, adapted, ethical, reflective, and so on.

¹¹ [For a note on this play, see Appendix, pp 456f—EDITORS]

As regards its psychological evaluation the *how* is more important than the *what*—*si duo faciunt idem, non est idem*.

126 The quality of the desire is important because it endows its object with the moral and aesthetic qualities of goodness and beauty, and thus influences our relations with our fellow men and the world in a decisive way. Nature is beautiful because I love it, and good is everything that my feeling regards as good. Values are chiefly created by the quality of one's subjective reactions. This is not to deny the existence of "objective" values altogether; only, their validity depends upon the consensus of opinion. In the erotic sphere, it is abundantly evident how little the object counts, and how much the subjective reaction.

127 Apparently Miss Miller did not think much of the officer, which is understandable enough from the human point of view—though it did not prevent the relationship from having a deep and lasting effect which even dragged in the Deity. The moods apparently produced by such dissimilar objects can hardly spring from them in reality, but must spring from the subjective experience of love. So when Miss Miller praises God or the sun, she really means her love, the instinct most deeply rooted in human nature.

128 The reader will remember the chain of associations we adduced in the previous chapter: the singer—the singing morning star—the God of Sound—the Creator—the God of Light—of the sun—of fire—of Love. With the changing of the erotic impression from positive to negative there is a predominance of *light* symbols for the object. In the second poem, where the longing comes out into the open, the object is the terrestrial sun. The libido having turned away from the concrete object, its object has become a psychic one, namely God. Psychologically, however, God is the name for a complex of ideas grouped round a powerful feeling; the feeling-tone is what really gives the complex its characteristic efficacy,¹² for it represents an emotional tension which can be formulated in terms of energy. The light and fire attributes depict the intensity of the feeling tone and are therefore expressions for the psychic energy which manifests itself as libido. If one worships God, sun, or fire (cf. fig. 4), one is worshipping intensity and power, in other words the phe-

¹² Cf. my "Psychology of Dementia Praecox," pars. 77ff., and my "Review of the Complex Theory," pars. 200ff.

nomenon of psychic energy as such, the libido. Every force and every phenomenon is a special form of energy. Form is both an image and a mode of manifestation. It expresses two things: the energy which takes shape in it, and the medium in which that energy appears. On the one hand one can say that energy creates its own image, and on the other hand that the character of the medium forces it into a definite form. One man will derive the idea of God from the sun, another will maintain that it is the numinous feelings it arouses which give the sun its godlike significance. The former, by attitude and temperament, believes more in the causal nexus of the environment, the latter more in the spontaneity of psychic experience. I fear it is the old question of which came first, the chicken or the egg. For all that, I incline to the view that in this particular case the psycho-energetic phenomenon not only takes precedence, but explains far more than the hypothesis of the causal primacy of the environment.

129 I am therefore of the opinion that, in general, psychic energy or libido creates the God-image by making use of archetypal patterns, and that man in consequence worships the psychic force active within him as something divine. (Pl. va.) We thus arrive at the objectionable conclusion that, from the psychological point of view, the God-image is a real but subjective phenomenon. As Seneca says: "God is near you, he is with you, he is within you," or, as in the First Epistle of John, "He who does not love does not know God; for God is love," and "If we love one another, God abides in us." 13

130 To anyone who understands libido merely as the psychic energy over which he has conscious control, the religious relationship, as we have defined it, is bound to appear as a ridiculous game of hide-and-seek with oneself. But it is rather a question of the energy which belongs to the archetype, to the unconscious, and which is therefore not his to dispose of. This "game with oneself" is anything but ridiculous; on the contrary, it is extremely important. To carry a god around in yourself means a great deal; it is a guarantee of happiness, of power, and

13 1 John 4:8 and 12 (RSV) "Caritas" in the Vulgate corresponds to ἀγάπη. This New Testament word derives, like ἀγάπησις (love, affection), from ἀγαπάω, 'to love, esteem, praise, approve, etc.' Ἀγάπη is, therefore, an unmistakably psychic function.

even of omnipotence, in so far as these are attributes of divinity. To carry a god within oneself is practically the same as being God oneself. In Christianity, despite the weeding out of the most grossly sensual ideas and symbols, we can still find traces of this psychology. The idea of "becoming a god" is even more obvious in the pagan mystery cults, where the neophyte, after initiation, is himself lifted up to divine status: at the conclusion of the consecration rites in the syncretistic Isis mysteries¹⁴ he was crowned with a crown of palm leaves, set up on a pedestal, and worshipped as Helios. (Pl. vi) In a magic papyrus, published by Dieterich as a Mithraic liturgy, there is a *ἱερὸς λόγος* in which the neophyte says: "I am a star wandering together with you and shining up from the depths"¹⁵

31 In his religious ecstasy the neophyte makes himself the equal of the stars, just as the saint in the Middle Ages put himself, through the stigmata, on a level with Christ. St. Francis of Assisi carried the relationship even further by speaking of his brother the sun and his sister the moon¹⁶

132 Hippolytus insists on the future deification of the believer: "You have become God, you will be a companion of God and co-heir in Christ." He says of the deification "That is the 'Know thyself'!"¹⁷ Even Jesus proved his divine Sonship to the Jews by appealing to Psalm 82:6 "I have said, Ye are gods" (John 10:34)

133 This idea of becoming a god is age-old. The old belief relegates it to the time after death, but the mystery cults bring it about in this world. An ancient Egyptian text represents it, very beautifully, as the triumphal song of the ascending soul:

I am the god Atum, I who alone was
I am the god Ra at his first appearing

14 Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*, vi. In my right hand I carried a torch blazing with flames, my head was garlanded with a fair crown of white palm with the leaves standing out like rays. Thus I was adorned like the sun and set up as an image.

15 Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, pp. 8-9 (*Ἐγὼ εἰμὶ συμπλαστος ἰμὶν ἄστρη καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βάθους ἀναλάμψων*)

16 In the same way the Sassanid kings styled themselves "brothers of the sun and moon." In ancient Egypt the soul of every Pharaoh was a split off from the Horns sun.

17 Fléchies, X, 34-4 (*Γέγονας γὰρ θεὸς ἔσθ' δὲ ὁμολητὴς θεοῦ καὶ συγκληρονόμος Χριστοῦ / Τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ γινῶθι σεαυτὸν*)

I am the great god who created himself,
 The lord of the gods, to whom no other god is equal.
 I was yesterday and know tomorrow; the battle-ground of the gods
 was made when I spoke.
 I know the name of that great god who dwells there.
 I am the god Min at his coming forth, whose feathers I place upon
 my head.¹⁸
 I am in my country, I come into my city. I am daily together with
 my father Atum.
 My impurity is driven out, and the sin which was in me is trodden
 under foot.
 I washed myself in the two great pools which are in Heracleopolis,
 in which the sacrifices of men are purified for that great god who
 dwells there.
 I go on my way, where I wash my head in the water of the righteous.
 I reach this land of the glorified and enter in at the splendid
 portal
 You who stand before me, reach me your hands, it is I, I am become
 one of you. I am daily together with my father Atum.¹⁹

¹³⁴ When man becomes God, his importance and power are enormously increased.²⁰ That seems to have been its main purpose: to strengthen the individual against his all-too-human weakness and insecurity in personal life. But the strengthening of his power consciousness is only the outward effect of his becoming God; far more important are the deeper lying processes in the realm of feeling. For whoever introverts libido, i.e., withdraws it from the external object, suffers the necessary consequences of introversion: the libido which is turned inwards, into

¹⁸ Cf. the coronation rite mentioned above. Feathers symbolize power. The feather crown = crown of sun rays, halo. Crowning is in itself an identification with the sun. For instance the spiked crown appeared on Roman coins from the time when the Caesars were identified with the *Sol invictus*. *Solis invicti comes* 'companion of the unconquerable sun'. The halo means the same thing, it is an image of the sun, as is the tonsure. The priests of Isis had smooth shaven heads that shone like stars (Apuleius).

¹⁹ "The Coming Forth by Day from the Underworld," in Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 343 (trans. modified).

²⁰ The text of the Mithraic liturgy reads: 'Εγώ εἰμι σὺμπλανος ὑμῖν ἀστρο καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βάθους ἀναλάμψω ταῦτά σου εἰκότως εἶθ' ὅς σ' ἀπλωθῇ (I am a star waning with you and shining up from the depths. When you have said this, the disc of the sun will immediately unfold). Through his prayer, the celebrant has the divine power to make the sun come out.

the subject, reverts to the individual past and digs up from the treasure house of memory those images glimpsed long ago, which bring back the time when the world was a full and rounded whole. First and foremost are the memories of childhood, among them the imagoes of father and mother. These are unique and imperishable and in adult life not many difficulties are needed to reawaken those memories and make them active. The regressive reactivation of the father and mother imagoes plays an important role in religion. The benefits of religion are equivalent, in their effects, to the parental care lavished upon the child, and religious feelings are rooted in unconscious memories of certain tender emotions in early infancy—memories of archetypal intuitions as expressed in the above hymn.

I am in my country, I come into my city I am daily together with my father Atum²¹

35 The visible father of the world is the sun the heavenly fire for which reason father, God, sun and fire are mythologically synonymous. The well known fact that in worshipping the sun's strength we pay homage to the great generative force of Nature is the plainest possible evidence—if evidence were still needed—that in God we honour the energy of the archetype. This symbolism is expressed very plastically in the third logos of the Dieterich papyrus after the second prayer, stars float down towards the neophyte from the disc of the sun—five pointed in great numbers and filling the whole air. When the sun's disc has opened you will see an immense circle, and fiery doors which are closed. The neophyte then utters the following prayer:

Give ear to me hear me Lord who hast fastened the fiery bolts of heaven with thy spirit, double bodied fire ruler creator of light fire-breathing, fiery hearted shining spirit rejoicing in fire beautiful light, Lord of light fiery bodied giver of light sower of fire founding with fire living light whirling fire mover of light hurler

²¹ Cf. the sayings in John. I and the Father are one (10:30). He who has seen me has seen the Father (14:9). Believe me that I am in the Father and the Father in me (14:11). I came from the Father and have come into the world again. I am leaving the world and going to the Father (16:28). I am ascending to my Father and your Father to my God and your God" (20:17) (All RSV)

of thunderbolts, glorious light, multiplier of light, holder of fiery light, conqueror of the stars, etc.²²

- 136 The invocation is an almost inexhaustible catalogue of light and fire attributes, and for sheer extravagance can only be compared with the endless vociferations about "love" in Christian mysticism. Among the many texts which might be cited I select this passage from Mechthild of Magdeburg (1212-77):

Ah Lord! love me greatly, love me often and long! For the more continuously Thou lovest me, the purer I shall be; the more fervently Thou lovest me, the more lovely I shall be; the longer Thou lovest me the more holy I shall become, even here on earth.

- 137 God answers:

That I love thee continuously is My Nature
For I Myself am Love;
That I love thee fervently is My Desire
For I long to be greatly loved.
That I love thee long comes from My Eternity
For I am everlasting and without end.²³

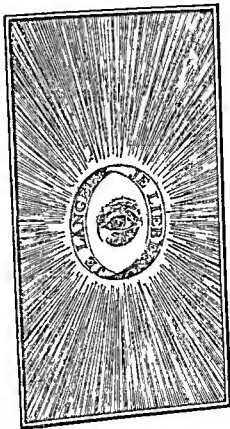
- 138 Religious regression makes use of the parental imago, but only as a symbol—that is to say, it clothes the archetype in the image of the parents, just as it bodies forth the archetype's energy by making use of sensuous ideas like fire, light, heat,²⁴ fecundity, generative power, and so on. In mysticism the inwardly perceived vision of the Divine is often nothing but sun or light, and is rarely, if ever, personified. (Fig. 2.) For example, there is this significant passage in the Mithraic liturgy: "The path of the visible gods will appear through the disc of the sun, who is God my father."²⁵

- 139 Hildegard of Bingen (1100-1178) declares:

²² "Ἐκέλευσέν μοι, δαύσον μου κέρει δ συνδήσας πνέματι τὰ κύρινα κλείθρα τοῦ οἴρατο", δισώματος, κυρίποτε, φωτὸς ἐτίστα . . . κυρίπρε, κυρίθυμε, πνευματόφως, κυρίχαρῆ, αλλίφως, φωτοράτωρ, κυρίωματα, φωτοδοτα, κυρίσπρε, κυρίκλανε, φωτόβιε, κυρίδινα, φωτοκινῆτα, αερανοκλένε φωτὸς εἰς αἰὼς. αἰησιφως, ἐκπυρσχοσίφως, ἀστροδόμα, κτλ
²³ *The Revelations of Mechthild of Magdeburg*, trans by Menzies, p. 14
²⁴ Renan, *Dialogues*, p. 168, says "Avant que la religion fût arrivée à proclamer que Dieu doit être mis dans l'absolu et l'idéal, c'est à dire hors du monde, un seul culte fût raisonnable et scientifique, ce fût le culte du soleil"
²⁵ Dieterich, p. 6 "Ἡ δὲ τορρία τῶν ὁραμένων θεῶν διὰ τοῦ δισκου, πατὴρ μου, θεοῦ φαίνεται."

But the light I see is not local but is everywhere and brighter far than the cloud which supports the sun I can in no way know the form of this light just as I cannot see the sun's disc entire But in this light I see at times though not often another light which is called by me the living light but when and in what manner I see

Fig 2 The Eye of God
frontispiece to Jakob Bohme
Seraphisch Blume gärtlein
Amsterdam 100



this I do not know how to say And when I see it all weariness and need is lifted from me and all at once I feel like a simple girl and not like an old woman⁸

¹⁰ Symeon the New Theologian (970-1040) says

My tongue lacks words and what happens in me my spirit sees clearly but does not explain It sees the Invisible that emptiness of all forms simple throughout not complex and in extent infinite For it sees no beginning and it sees no end and is entirely uncon-

²⁰ In P. tra. *Analecta sacra* VIII p 333 C. ed from Buler pp 51f

scious of any middle, and does not know what to call that which it sees. Something complete appears, it seems to me, not indeed with the thing itself, but through a kind of *participation*. For you enkindle fire from fire, and you receive the whole fire; but this thing remains undiminished and undivided as before. Similarly, that which is imparted separates itself from the first, and spreads like something corporeal into many lights. But this is something spiritual, immeasurable, indivisible, and inexhaustible. For it is not separated when it becomes many, but remains undivided, and is in me, and rises in my poor heart like a sun or circular disc of the sun, like light, for it is a light.²⁷

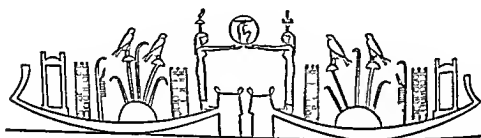


Fig 3 The Voyage of the Sun. The Western Goddess in the Barge of Evening gives the Sun disc to the Eastern Goddess in the Barge of Morning
Late Egyptian

¹⁴¹ That the thing perceived as an inner light, as the sun of the other world, is an emotional component of the psyche, is clear from Symeon's words:

And questing after it, my spirit sought to comprehend the splendour it had seen, but found it not as a creature and could not get away from created things, that it might embrace that uncreated and uncomprehended splendour. Nevertheless it wandered everywhere and strove to behold it. It searched through the air, it wandered over the heavens, it crossed the abysses, it searched, so it seemed, to the ends of the world.²⁸ But in all that it found nothing, for all was

²⁷ "Love songs to God," in Buber, p. 40. There is a related symbolism in Carlyle ("Heroes and Hero Worship," p. 280): "The great fact of Existence is great to him. Fly as he will, he cannot get out of the awful presence of this Reality. His mind is so made; he is great by that, first of all Fearful and wonderful, real as Life, real as Death, is this Universe to him. Though all men should forget its truth, and walk in a vain show, he cannot. At all moments the Flame image glares in upon him." One could take any amount of examples from literature. For instance, S. Friedlander says in *Jugend* (1910) p. 823: "Her longing demands only

the purest from the beloved Like the sun she burns to ashes with the flame of her immense vitality anything that does not desire to be light This sun like eye of love, etc.

²⁸ This image contains the psychological root of the "heavenly wanderings of the soul" an idea that is very old It is an image of the wandering sun (fg 3) which from its rising to its setting travels over the world This comparison has been indelibly imprinted on man's imagination as is clear from the poem "Grief" of Mathilde von Wesendonck (1828-1900)

The sun, every evening weeping
Reddens its beautiful eyes for you
When early death seizes you
Bathing in the mirror of the sea

Still in its old splendour
The glory rises from the dark world,
You awaken anew in the morning
Like a proud conqueror

Ah why then should I lament
When my heart so heavy sees you?
Must the sun itself despair?
Must the sun set?

And does death alone bear life?
Do griefs alone give joys?
O how grateful I am that
Such pains have given me nature!

There is another parallel in a poem by Ricarda Huch (1864-1917)

As the earth separating from the sun
Withdraws in quick flight into the stormy night
Starring the naked body with cold snow
Deafened it takes away the summer joy
And sinking deeper in the shadows of winter
Suddenly draws close to that which it flees
Sees itself warmly embraced with rosy light
Leaning against the lost consort
Thus I went suffering the punishment of exile
Away from your countenance into the ancient place
Unprotected turning to the desolate north
Always retreating deeper into the sleep of death
And then would I awake on your heart
Blinded by the splendour of the dawn

[Both poems as trans in the Hinkle edn (1916)]

The heavenly journey is a special instance of the journeys of the hero a motif that was continued as the *peregrinatio* in alchemy The earliest appearance of this motif is probably the heavenly journey of Plato (?) in the Hellenistic treatise "Platonis liber quartorum" (*Theatrum chemicum* v p 145) See also my *Psychology and Alchemy* par 457

created And I lamented and was sorrowful and my heart burned
and I lived as one distraught in mind But it came as it was wont
and descending like a luminous cloud seemed to envelop my whole
head so that I cried out dismayed But flying away again it left me
alone And when I wearily sought it I realized suddenly that it was
within me and in the midst of my heart it shone like the light of a
spherical sun ²⁹

¹⁴² In Nietzsche's *Glory and Eternity* we meet with essentially
the same symbolism

Hush!
I see vastness!
And of vasty things
One should not speak—
Save in vast words! Well then
Grandiloquize charmed wisdom mine!

Look up
There roll the star strewn seas
Night stillness deathly silent roar!
Behold a sign
Slowly from endless space
A glittering constellation floats towards me ³⁰

¹⁴³ It is not surprising that Nietzsche's great solitude should
have called awake certain images which the old cults had exalted
as religious ideas In the visions of the Mithraic liturgy we move
among ideas of a very similar kind which can now be under-
stood without difficulty as ecstatic libido symbols

But after you have said the second prayer where silence is twice
commanded then whistle twice and click twice with the tongue and
immediately you will see stars coming down from the disc of the
sun five pointed in large numbers and filling the whole air But say
once again *Silence! Silence!* ³¹

¹⁴⁴ The whistling and clicking with the tongue are archaic de-
vices for attracting the theriomorphic deity Roaring has a
similar significance You are to look up at him and give forth
a long roar, as with a horn using all your breath and pressing
your sides then kiss the amulet etc ³² My soul roars with the

²⁹ Buber p 45

³⁰ *Werke* VIII p 427

³¹ D etench pp 8f.

³² *Ib d* p 13

voice of a hungry lion says Mechtild of Magdeburg As the hart panteth after the water brooks so panteth my soul after thee O God (Psalm 42 1) As so often happens the ceremony has dwindled to a mere figure of speech Schizophrenia however infuses new life into the old usage as in the case of the bellowing miracle³³ described by Schreber who in this way gave God sadly uninformed about the affairs of humanity notice of his existence

145 Silence is commanded then the vision of light is revealed The similarity between the situation of the neophyte and Nietzsche's poetic vision is very striking Nietzsche says constellation but constellations as we know are mainly theriomorphic or anthropomorphic The papyrus has ἀστέρας πενταδακτυλίου (literally five fingered stars similar to the rosy fingered Dawn) which is a pure anthropomorphic image Hence if one looked long enough one would expect that a living being would form itself out of the fiery image a constellation in the form of a man or animal—for libido-symbols do not stop at sun light and fire but have a whole range of other expressions at their disposal I leave Nietzsche to speak for himself

The Beacon

Here where the island grew amid the seas
Like a high tower on sacrificial rock
Here under the darkling heavens
Zarathustra lights his mountain fires

This flame with its grey and white belly
Hisses its desire into the chill distances
Stretching its neck to ever purer heights—
A snake upreared in impatience

This emblem I set up before me
This flame is my own soul
Insatiable for new distances
Sending upwards its glare of silent heat

To all the lonely I now throw my fishing rod
Give answer to the flames impatient
Let me the fisher on high mountains
Catch my seventh last sunset³⁴

³³ *Memoirs* pp. 4, 162ff

³⁴ From *Ecce Homo* a translation based on A. M. Ludovici's



Fig. 4 Germanic sun idol
From the *Sachsische Chronicon*, 1596

- 145 Here the libido turns into fire, flame, and a snake. The Egyptian symbol of the "living sun-disc"—a disc with the two intertwined Uraeus serpents (pl. vii)—is a combination of both these libido analogies. And the sun disc with its fructifying warmth is analogous to the fructifying warmth of love. The comparison of libido with sun and fire is essentially a "comparison by analogy." There is also a "causative" element in it, because

sun and fire as beneficent forces are objects of human love (for instance the sun hero Mithras is called the well beloved) In Nietzsche's poem the comparison is also a causative one but this time in the opposite sense the snake comparison is unmistakably phallic The phallus is the source of life and libido the creator and worker of miracles and as such it was worshipped everywhere We have therefore three ways of symbolizing the libido

1 *Comparison by analogy* as sun and fire (fig 4)

2 *Causative Comparisons* (a) with objects The libido is characterized by its object e.g. the health giving sun (b) with the subject The libido is characterized by its instrument or by something analogous to it e.g. the phallus or its analogue the snake

147 To these three fundamental forms of comparison there must be added a fourth the *functional comparison* where the tertium comparationis is *activity* For instance the libido is fertile like the bull dangerous like the lion or boar (because of the fury of its passion) and lustful like the ever rutting ass and so on These comparisons represent so many possible ways of symbolization and for this reason all the infinitely varied symbols so far as they are libido images can be reduced to a common denominator—the libido and its properties This psychological simplification is in accord with the historical attempts of civilization to unify and simplify in a higher synthesis the infinite number of gods We come across this attempt even in ancient Egypt where the boundless polytheism of local demon worship finally made simplification necessary The various local gods such as Amon of Thebes Horus of the East Horus of Edfu Khnum of Elephantine Atum of Heliopolis etc. were all identified with the sun god Ra³⁵ In the hymns to the sun the composite deity Amon Ra Harmachis Atum was invoked as the only god in truth the living one³⁶ Amenophis IV (XVIIIth Dynasty) went the furthest in this direction he replaced all former gods by the great living disc of the sun whose official title was Lord of the Two Horizons exulting on the horizon in his name Glittering Splendour which is in the sun disc In fact adds Erman³⁷ it was not a sun god who was adored but

³⁵ Even the water god Sobek who appeared as a crocodile was identified with Ra
³⁶ Erman *Life in Ancient Egypt* p 26
³⁷ *Ibid* p 262

the material sun itself, which, by the hands of his beams,³⁸ bestowed upon living beings that 'eternal life' which was in him." (Fig 5; cf. also fig 7 and pl. 1b.)

¹⁴⁸ Amenophis IV achieved, by his reforms, a psychologically valuable work of interpretation. He united all the bull,³⁹ ram,⁴⁰ crocodile,⁴¹ and pile dwelling⁴² gods into the sun disc, and

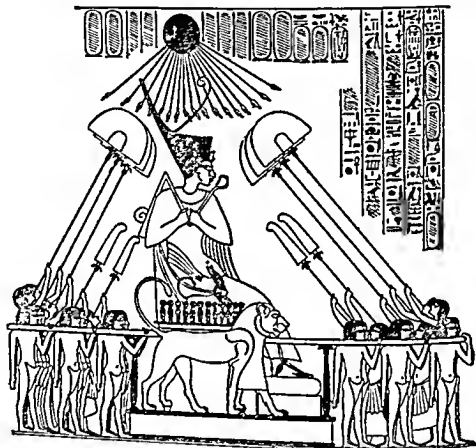


Fig. 5 The life giving Sun Amenophis IV on his throne
Relief, Egypt

made it clear that their various attributes were compatible with those of the sun.⁴³ A similar fate overtook Hellenic and Roman polytheism as a result of the syncretistic strivings of later cen-

³⁸ Cf. the "five fingered stars" mentioned above

³⁹ The Apis bull as manifestation of Ptah

⁴⁰ Amon ⁴¹ Sobk of the Fayum

⁴² The god of Dedu, in the Delta, who was worshipped as a wooden post.

⁴³ This reformation was initiated with a great deal of fanaticism but soon collapsed.

turies. An excellent illustration of this is the beautiful prayer of Lucius to the Queen of Heaven (the moon):

Queen of heaven, whether thou be named Ceres, bountiful mother of earthly fruits, or heavenly Venus, or Phoebus' sister, or Proserpina, who strikest terror with midnight ululations . . . , thou that with soft feminine brightness dost illumine the walls of all cities. . . .⁴⁴

149 These attempts to reunite the basic archetypes after polytheism had multiplied them into countless variants and personified them as separate gods prove that such analogies must forcibly have obtruded themselves at a fairly early date. Herodotus is full of references of this kind, not to mention the various systems known to the Greco-Roman world. But the striving for unity is opposed by a possibly even stronger tendency to create multiplicity, so that even in strictly monotheistic religions like Christianity the polytheistic tendency cannot be suppressed. The deity is divided into three parts, and on top of that come all the heavenly hierarchies. These two tendencies are in constant warfare: sometimes there is only one God with countless attributes, sometimes there are many gods, who are simply called by different names in different places, and who personify one or the other attribute of their respective archetype, as we have seen in the case of the Egyptian gods. This brings us back to Nietzsche's poem "The Beacon." The flame was there used as a libido-image, theriomorphically represented (fig. 6) as a snake (and at the same time as an image of the soul):⁴⁵ "This flame is

⁴⁴ Apuleius, XI, 2 ("Regina coeli, sive tu Ceres alma frugum patens, seu tu coelestis Venus . . . seu Phoebi soror . . . seu nocturnis ululatus horrenda Proserpina . . . ista luce femina conlustrans cuncta moenia") It is worth noting that the Humanists too (I am thinking of a passage in Mutianus Rufus) developed the same syncretism and maintained that there were really only two gods in antiquity, a masculine and a feminine.

⁴⁵ The light or fire substance was ascribed not only to divinity but also to the soul, as for instance in the system of Mani, and again with the Greeks who thought of it as a fiery breath of air. The Holy Ghost of the New Testament appeared to the apostles in the form of flames, because the pneuma was believed to be fiery (cf. Dieterich, p. 116). The Iranian conception of Hvareno was similar: it signified the "Grace of Heaven" through which the monarch ruled. This "Grace" was understood as a sort of fire or shining glory, something very substantial (cf. Cumont, *Mysteries*, p. 91). We come across ideas of the same type in Kerner's *Seeress of Prevorst*.



Fig 6 The mercurial serpent, alchemical symbol of psychic transformation

From Barchusen, *Elementa chemiae*, 1718

my own soul"). We saw, however, that the snake is to be taken not only in the phallic sense, but as an attribute of the sun's image (the Egyptian uraeus) and as a libido-symbol. It is therefore possible for the sun-disc to be equipped not only with hands and feet (fig. 7; cf. also pl. 1b), but also with a phallus. We find proof of this in a strange vision in the Mithraic liturgy: "And likewise the so-called tube, the origin of the ministering wind. For you will see hanging down from the disc of the sun something that looks like a tube."⁴⁶

¹⁵⁰ This remarkable vision of a tube hanging down from the sun would be absolutely baffling in a religious text were it not that the tube has a phallic significance: the tube is the origin of the wind. The phallic significance of this attribute is not apparent at first sight, but we must remember that the wind, just as much as the sun, is a fructifier and creator.⁴⁷ There is a painting by an

⁴⁶ Dieterich, pp 6-7. Ὁμοιωσι δὲ καὶ ὁ καταλόμενος αἰὼς, ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ λειτοῦ ργοῦτος ἔριμον. ἔστι γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔριμου αἰὼς ἀλλὰ ἀναιρέμενος

⁴⁷ According to ancient superstition, the mares of Lusitania and the Egyptian vultures were fertilized by the wind.

early German artist which depicts the fructification of Mary in the following manner a sort of tube or hose pipe comes down from heaven and passes under the robe of the Virgin, and we can see the Holy Ghost flying down it in the form of a dove to fecundate the Mother of God ⁴⁸ (Cf pl viii, cf also pl iii)

- ¹⁵¹ I once came across the following hallucination in a schizophrenic patient he told me he could see an erect phallus on the sun When he moved his head from side to side, he said the sun's phallus moved with it, and *that was where the wind came from*. This bizarre notion remained unintelligible to me for a long time, until I got to know the visions in the Mithraic liturgy The hallucination, it seems to me, also throws light on a very obscure passage in the text which comes immediately after the one quoted above

εἰς δὲ τὰ μέρη τὰ πρὸς λίβα ἀπέραντον οἶον ἀπηλιώτην Ἐάν ᾧ κεκληρωμένος
εἰς τὰ μέρη τοῦ ἀπηλιώτου ὁ ἕτερος, ὁμοίως εἰς τὰ μέρη τὰ ἐκείνου ὀφεί τῃν
ἀποφορὰν τοῦ δράματος

- ¹⁵² Mead translates as follows

And towards the regions Westward as though it were an infinite East Wind But if the other wind, toward the regions of the East, should be in service, in like fashion shalt thou see toward the regions of that (side), the converse of the sight ⁴⁹

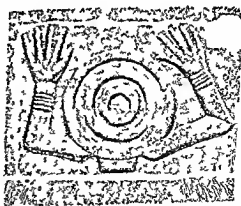


Fig 7 The Sun's hands
Relief Spitalkirche, Tübingen

⁴⁸ St Jerome (*Adversus Jovinianum* I 7 in Migne P.L. vol 23 col 219) says of Mithras who was born in a marvellous manner from a rock (cf fig 9) that his birth was caused *solo aestu libidinis*—by the sole heat of libido. (Cumont *Textes* I p 163)

⁴⁹ Mead *A Mithraic Ritual* p 22

53 Basing ourselves on Dieterich, we would say:

And towards the regions westward it is as though there were an infinite east wind. But if the other wind should prevail towards the regions of the east, you will in like manner see the vision veering in that direction.⁵⁰

54 Ὅραμα is the vision, the thing seen; ἀποφορά really means a carrying away, or taking away. The probable meaning is that the vision moves or is carried hither and thither according to the direction of the wind. The thing seen is the tube, the "origin of the wind," which turns now to the east, now to the west, and presumably generates the corresponding wind. The vision of our schizophrenic tallies in the most astonishing way with this movement of the tube.⁵¹ This remarkable case prompted me to undertake various researches on mentally deranged Negroes.⁵² I was able to convince myself that the well-known motif of Ixion on the sun-wheel (cf. pl. XLVIB) did in fact occur in the dream of an uneducated Negro. These and other experiences like them were sufficient to give me a clue: it is not a question of a specifically racial heredity, but of a universally human characteristic. Nor is it a question of *inherited ideas*, but of a functional disposition to produce the same, or very similar, ideas. This disposition I later called the *archetype*.⁵³

55 The various attributes of the sun appear one after another in the Mithraic liturgy. After the vision of Helios, seven maidens appear with faces like snakes, and seven gods with the faces of black bulls. The maiden can easily be understood as a causative libido analogy. The serpent in Paradise is usually thought of as feminine, as the seductive principle in woman, and is represented as feminine by the old painters.⁵⁴ (Fig. 8.) Through a

⁵⁰ Dieterich, p. 7.
⁵¹ I am indebted to my late colleague Dr. Franz Riklin for the following case, which presents an interesting symbolism. It concerns a paranoid woman patient who developed the stage of manifest megalomania in the following way: She suddenly saw a *strong light*, a *wind blew upon her*, she felt as if her "heart turned over," and from that moment she knew that God had visited her and was in her.

⁵² Permission for me to do this was kindly given by Dr. William Alanson White, late superintendent of the St. Elizabeth's Hospital, in Washington, D.C.

⁵³ Further material in my "Psychology of the Child Archetype," pars. 260ff. and my "On the Nature of the Psyche," pars. 388ff.

⁵⁴ See my "Psychology and Religion," pars. 104f.

similar change of meaning the snake in antiquity became a symbol of the earth, which has always been considered feminine. The bull is a notorious fertility symbol. In the Mithraic liturgy, the bull gods are called *κρωδακοφυλάκες*, 'guardians of the world's axis,' who turn the axle of the wheel of heaven." The same attribute falls also to Mithras: sometimes he is the *Sol invictus* itself, sometimes the companion and ruler of Helios (cf pls xxiva, vi), in his right hand he holds 'the constellation of the Bear, which moves and turns the heavens round.' The bull-headed deities, *ἱεροὶ καὶ ἀλκιμοὶ νεανῆαι*, 'sacred and valorous youths' like Mithras himself, who is also given the attribute *νεώτερος*, 'the younger one,' are merely aspects of the same divinity. The chief god of the Mithraic liturgy is himself divided into Mithras and



Fig 8 The Tempting of Eve
From the *Speculum humanae salvationis* Augsburg,
1470

Helios (cf pl xxiva), both of whom have closely related attributes. Speaking of Helios the text says

You will see a god young comely, with glowing locks in a white tunic and a scarlet cloak, with a fiery crown⁵⁵

And of Mithras

You will see a god of enormous power, with a shining countenance, young, with golden hair, in a white tunic and a golden crown, with

⁵⁵ Dieterich p 11 ὄψει θεόν νεώτερον εὐκλεῖς κυρτοτέρηχα ἐν χιτῶνι λευκῷ καὶ χλαμίδι κοκκίῳ ἔχοντα πύρινον στέφανον

wide trousers, holding in his right hand the golden shoulder of a young bull. This is the constellation of the Bear, which moves and turns the heavens round, wandering upwards and downwards according to the hour. Then you will see lightnings leap from his eyes, and from his body, stars.⁵⁶

56 If we equate gold and fire as essentially similar, then there is a large measure of agreement in the attributes of the two gods. To these mystical pagan ideas we must add the visions of the Johannine Apocalypse, which are probably not much older.

And I turned to see the voice that spake with me. And being turned, I saw seven golden candlesticks, and in the midst of the seven candlesticks one like unto the Son of man, clothed with a garment down to the foot and girt about the paps with a golden girdle. His head and his hairs were white like wool, as white as snow, and his eyes were as a flame of fire, and his feet like unto fine brass, as if they burned in a furnace, and his voice as the sound of many waters. And he had in his right hand seven stars.⁵⁷ and out of his mouth went a sharp two-edged sword.⁵⁸ and his countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength. [Rev. 1:12ff.]

And I looked, and behold a white cloud, and upon the cloud one sat like unto the Son of Man, having on his head a golden crown,⁵⁹ and in his hand a sharp sickle. [Rev. 14:14.]

His eyes were as a flame of fire, and on his head were many crowns. . . And he was clothed with a vesture dipped in blood.⁶⁰ And the armies which were in heaven followed him upon white horses clothed in fine linen, white and clean.⁶¹ [Rev. 19:12ff.]

56 Ibid., p. 15. ὅφει θεὸν υπερμεγέθη φωτὶν ἔχοντα τῇ δφιν, νεώτερον, χρυσοῦμαν, ἐν χιτῶνι λε κῶ καὶ χρυῶ στεφάνῃ καὶ ἀναξυρίαι κατέχοντα τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ μύσχου ἑμὸν χρίσιον δι ἵστιν ἄριστος ἡ κίρυνσα καὶ ἀρτιστρίφουσα τὸν οὐρανὸν, κατὰ ὥραν ἀναπολείουσα καὶ καταπολείουσα. Ἰκετα δφει αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν ὀμμάτων ἀστράκας καὶ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἀστέρας ἄλλομινον. 57 The Great Bear consists of seven stars.

58 Mithras is frequently represented with a short sword in one hand and a torch in the other (fig. 9). The sword as sacrificial instrument plays a considerable role in the Mithraic myth and also in Christian symbolism. See my "Transformation Symbolism in the Mass," pp. 324-327ff.

59 στεφάνον χρυσοῦ, lit. golden wreath.

60 Cf. the scarlet mantle of Helios. An essential feature in the rites of many different cults was that the worshippers dressed themselves in the bloody pelts of the sacrificed animals as at the Lupercalia, Dionysia and Saturnalia. The last of these figures on in the Carnival in Rome the typical Carnival figure was the pilaple l'unchinello.

61 Cf. the linen-clad retinue of the god Helios. The bull-headed gods wore white περιώματα (apronia).

There is no need to assume any direct connection between the Apocalypse and Mithraic ideas. The visionary images in both texts are drawn from a source not limited to any one place, but found in the souls of many people. The symbols it produces are far too typical to belong to any one individual.



Fig 9 Mithras with sword and torch
Roman sculpture

I mention these images in order to show how the light symbolism gradually develops,⁶² as the intensity of the vision increases, into the figure of the sun hero, the "well beloved".⁶³

⁶² The development of the sun symbolism in *Faust* (Part I Scene 1) does not go as far as an anthropomorphic vision: it stops in the suicide scene (Wayne P. 54) at the chariot of Helios ("As if on wings a chariot of fire draws near me"). The fiery chariot comes to receive the dying or departing hero as in the ascension of Elijah or Mithras (and also with St. Francis of Assisi). *Faust* in his flight passes over the sea just as Mithras does: the early Christian paintings of the ascension of Elijah are based partly on the corresponding Mithraic representations where the horses of the sun-chariot mounting up to heaven leave the solid earth behind them and gallop away over the figure of a water god—Oceanus—lying at their feet. Cf. Cumont *Textes* I p. 178.

⁶³ Title of Mithras in the *Vendidad* XIX. 28 cited by Cumont *Textes* I p. 37.

These visionary processes are the psychological roots of the sun coronations in the mystery religions (Pl vi) The religious experience behind the ritual had congealed into liturgy, but it was a regular enough occurrence to be accepted as a valid outward form In view of all this it is evident that the early Church stood in a special relationship to Christ as the *Sol novus*, and on the other hand had some difficulty in shaking off the pagan symbol Philo Judaeus saw in the sun the image of the divine Logos, or even the deity itself⁶¹ And in a hymn of St Ambrose, Christ is invoked with the words "O sol salutis," etc At the time of Marcus Aurelius, Melito, in his treatise *Περὶ τοῦτον*, called Christ 'The sun of the East' . . . As the only sun he rose in the heavens"⁶²

159 Even more explicit is a passage from Pseudo Cyprian

O how wonderful is Providence that Christ should be born on the same day on which the sun was created, the 28th of March! Therefore the prophet Malachi said to the people concerning him 'The Sun of righteousness shall rise, with healing in his wings' This is the sun of righteousness in whose wings healing was foreshown⁶³

160 In a treatise attributed to St John Chrysostom, 'De solstitiis et æquinoctiis,' it is said

But the Lord, too, was born in wintertime, on the 25th of December, when the ripe olives are pressed in order to produce the oil for anointing the chrism They also call this day the birthday of the Unconquerable One Yet who is as unconquerable as our Lord, who overthrew and conquered death itself? As for their calling it the birthday of the sun, he himself is the sun of righteousness of whom the prophet Malachi spoke—He is the Lord of light and darkness,

⁶¹ *De somniis* I 85

⁶² Ἦλιος ἀνατολῆς μόνος ἥλιος οὗτος ἀνέτειλεν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ Cf Pitra *Analecta sacra* II p 5 cited in Cumont *Textes* I p 355

⁶³ *De Pascha Conspicuitus* in Migne *P.L.* 4 col 961 Cited in Usener *Weshnachtsfest*, p 5—"O quam praeclara providentia ut in illo die quo factus est sol in ipso die nasceretur Christus v kal Apr feria IV Et ideo de ipso merito ad plebem dicebat Malachias propheta Orietur vobis sol iustitiae et curatio est in pennis ejus" hic est sol iustitiae cuius in pennis curatio praestendebatur The passage occurs in Malachi 4 2 "But unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of righteousness arise with healing in his wings This image recalls the winged sun disc of ancient Egypt (Pl xia cf also pl vii.)

the creator and separator who is called by the prophet the sun of righteousness ⁶⁷

According to the testimony of Eusebius of Alexandria Christians, too, shared in the worship of the rising sun until well into the fifth century

Woe to those who prostrate themselves before the sun and the moon and the stars! For I know of many who prostrate themselves and pray to the sun At sunrise they address their prayers to him saying Have pity on us! And this is done not only by sun worshippers and heretics but by Christians too who forget their faith and mix with heretics ⁶⁸

Augustine remonstrated with his Christian followers telling them emphatically Christ the Lord has not been made [like unto] the sun but is he through whom the sun is made ⁶⁹

Not a few traces of sun worship are preserved in ecclesiastical art ⁷⁰ for instance the nimbus round the head of Christ and the haloes of the saints Numerous fire and light symbols are attributed to the saints in Christian legend ⁷¹ The twelve apostles for example were likened to the twelve signs of the zodiac and were therefore represented each with a star over his head ⁷² No wonder the heathen as Tertullian reports took the

⁶⁷ "Sed et dom nus nascitur mense Decembris h em s tempore VIII kal Januar as quando oleae maturaee prem ntur i t unct o id est chr sma nascat r—sed et Invicti natalem appellant Quis ut que tam invictus n s Dom nus noster qui mortem subactam dev c t? Vel quod d cant Sol s esse natalem ipse est sol iustitiae de quo Malachi as propheta d x t—Dom n s l c s ac noctis conditor et d scretor qui a propheta Sol i sti ae cognon nat s est Cumont Textes p 35
⁶⁸ Οἱ αὖ τοι προσκυνοῦσι τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας Πολλοὶ γάρ οὕτως τοι προσκύνουσιν ὡς καὶ εὐχόμενοι π εἰς τὸν ἥλιον Πῶς γὰρ ἀνατελεῖς το ἥλιον προσεύχοντα καὶ λέγοντες Ἐλθέσθαι ἡμᾶς καὶ οὐ μόνον ἢ ἀστέρας καὶ αἰρετικοὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ χρ στ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀφέντες τὴν πίστιν τοις αἰρετικοῖς ἀναμιγνύμενοι — Orat o VI Περὶ ἀστρονομίας cited in Cumont p 356

⁶⁹ Non est Dominus Christus sol factus sed per quem Sol factus est"—In Jo! ann s Evang Tract XXXIV 2 [Trans from author's version]
⁷⁰ The pictures in the catacombs i le v se contain a good deal of s n symbolism For instance there s a swastika (sun wheel) on the robe of Fossor Dogenes in the cemetery of Peter and Marcell n s The symbols of the rising sun i ll and ram—are found in the Orpheus frescoes in the cemetery of Domitilla also the ram and peacock (a sun symbol like the phoenix) on an epitaph in the Callist catacomb
⁷¹ Numerous examples in G rres De Cl ristic e Myst k

⁷² Le Blant Sarcophages de la Gaule In the Homilies of Clement of Rome (Hom I II 23 cited in Cumont Textes I p 356) we read Τῷ κυρίῳ γεγόνασιν

sun for the God of the Christians! "Some, in a more human and probable way, believe the Sun to be our god."⁷³ Among the Manichees the sun actually was God. One of the most remarkable records of this period, an amalgam of pagan-Asiatic, Hellenistic, and Christian beliefs, is the *'Εξήγησις περὶ τῶν ἐν Περσίῃ πραχθέντων*,⁷⁴ a book of fables which affords deep



Fig. 10 Serpent representing the orbit of the moon
Assyrian boundary stone, Susa

insight into syncretistic symbolism. There we find the following magical dedication: *Δι' Ἰλλίω θεῷ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ Ἰησοῦ*.⁷⁵ In certain parts of Armenia, Christians still pray to the rising

δέδεκα ἀπόστολοι τῶν τοῦ ἡλίου δέδεκα μηνῶν ἑξοστέας τὸν ἀριθμὸν (The Lord had twelve apostles, bearing the number of the twelve months of the sun) (trans. by Roberts and Donaldson p. 42). This image evidently refers to the sun's course through the zodiac. The course of the sun (like the course of the moon in Assyria, cf. fig. 10) was represented as a snake carrying the signs of the zodiac on its back (like the *Deus leontocephalus* of the Mithraic mysteries, cf. pl. xiv). This view is supported by a passage from a Vatican Codex edited by Cumont (190, 13th cent., p. 229 in *Textes*, I, p. 33): *Τότε δὲ πάνσοφος δημιουργὸς ἕκω νεύματι ἐκίνησε τὸν μέγαν δράκοντα σὺν τῷ κεκοσμημένῳ στεφάνῳ, λέγων δὲ τὰ ἱερά, βασιτάξοντα ἐπὶ τοῦ νότου αὐτοῦ* (Then the all wise Demiurge, by his highest command, set in motion the great dragon with the spangled crown, I mean the twelve signs of the zodiac which are borne on his back). In the Manichaean system, the symbol of the snake, and actually the snake on the tree of Paradise, was attributed to Christ. Cf. John 3:14 "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness so must the Son of man be lifted up" (Pl. ix b).

⁷³ *Apologia* 16 "Alii humanius et verius similes Solem credunt deum nostrum"
⁷⁴ Report on the Happenings in Persia, from an 11th cent. MS. in Munich
⁷⁵ "To the great God Zeus Helios King Jesus" (p. 166, § 22)

sun, that it may "let its foot rest on the face of the worshipper." 76

Under the symbol of "moth and sun" we have dug deep down into the historical layers of the psyche, and in the course of our excavations have uncovered a buried idol, the sun-hero, "young, comely, with glowing locks and fiery crown," who, forever unattainable to mortal man, revolves round the earth, causing night to follow day, and winter summer, and death life, and who rises again in rejuvenated splendour to give light to new generations. For him the dreamer longs with her very soul, for him the "soul-moth" burns her wings

The ancient civilizations of the Near East were familiar with a sun-worship dominated by the idea of the dying and resurgent god—Osiris (cf. fig. 23), Tammuz, Attis-Adonis,⁷⁷ Christ, Mithras,⁷⁸ and the phoenix. The beneficent as well as the destroying power was worshipped in the fire. The forces of nature are always two-faced, as is plainly the case with the God of Job. This ambivalence brings us back to Miss Miller's poem. Her recollections as to its antecedents bear out our earlier supposition that the image of the moth and the sun is a condensation of two ideas, one of which we have just discussed. The other is the idea of the moth and the flame. As the title of a play, about whose contents the author tells us absolutely nothing, "The Moth and the Flame" could easily have the hackneyed meaning of flying round the flame of passion until one's wings are burned. This passionate longing has two sides. It is the power which beautifies everything, but, in a different set of circumstances, is quite as likely to destroy everything. Hence a violent desire is either accompanied by anxiety at the start, or is remorselessly pursued by it. All passion is a challenge to fate, and what it does cannot be undone. Fear of fate is a very understandable phenomenon, for it is incalculable, immeasurable, full of unknown dangers. The perpetual hesitation of the neurotic to launch out into life

76 Abeghian, *Der armenische Volksglaube*, p. 43

77 Attis was later assimilated to Mithras, and like him was represented with the Phrygian cap (cf. fig. 9). Cumont, *Mysteries*, p. 87. According to the testimony of St. Jerome (*Ep. 58 ad Paulinum*), the birth cave at Bethlehem was originally a sanctuary (spelaeum) of Attis-Adonis (Usener *Weihnachtsfest*, p. 283).

78 Cumont (pp. iv-v) says "The two adversaries discovered with amazement, but with no inkling of their origin, the similarities which united them."

is readily explained by his desire to stand aside so as not to get involved in the dangerous struggle for existence. But anyone who refuses to experience life must stifle his desire to live—in other words, he must commit partial suicide. This explains the death fantasies that usually accompany the renunciation of desire. Miss Miller had already given vent to these fantasies in her poem, and she now comments:

I had been reading a selection of Byron's poems that pleased me greatly and that I often dipped into. Moreover, there is a great similarity of rhythm between my two last lines, "For I, the source, etc.," and these two of Byron's:

"Now, let me die as I have lived in faith
Nor tremble tho' the Universe should quake!"

- 166 This reminiscence, the last link in her chain of associations, corroborates the death fantasies born of renunciation. The quotation comes—a point not mentioned by Miss Miller—from an unfinished poem of Byron's called "Heaven and Earth." The passage reads:

Still blessed be the Lord,
For what is past,
For that which is:
For all are his,
From first to last—
Time, space, eternity, life, death—
The vast known and immeasurable unknown,
He made, and can unmake;
And shall I, for a little gasp of breath,
Blaspheame and groan?
No; let me die, as I have lived, in faith,
Nor quiver, though the universe may quake! 79

- 167 These words form part of a panegyric or prayer spoken by a "mortal" who is in headlong flight before the oncoming Deluge. Quoting them, Miss Miller puts herself in a similar situation: she hints that her own feelings are very like the hopeless despair of the unfortunates who saw themselves threatened by the rising waters. She thus allows us to peer into the dark abyss of her longing for the sun hero. We see that her longing is in vain, for she too is a mortal, momentarily upborne on the wings of her
- 79 *Works*, p. 559

longing into the light and then sinking down to death—or should we perhaps say, *driven by deadly fear* to climb higher and higher, like the people in the flood, and yet despite the most desperate struggles irretrievably doomed to destruction. One is forcibly reminded of the closing scene in *Cyrano de Bergerac*

CYRANO But since Death comes,
I meet him still afoot, and sword in hand! . .
What say you? It is useless? Ay, I know!
But who fights ever hoping for success?
I fought for lost cause, and for fruitless quest! . .
I know that you will lay me low at last ⁸⁰

58 Her human expectations are futile, because her whole long-
ing is directed towards the Divine, the "well beloved," who is
worshipped in the sun's image. The existing material makes it
clear that there is no question of any conscious decision or
choice on her part. It is rather that she is confronted, against
her will and inclinations, with the disquieting fact that a divine
hero has stepped into the shoes of the handsome officer.
Whether this betokens a good thing or a bad remains to be
seen.

169 Byron's 'Heaven and Earth' is a mystery, founded on the
following passage in Genesis: "And it came to pass that
the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair,
and they took them wives of all which they chose." ⁸¹ Besides
that, Byron used as a motto for his poem the following words
from Coleridge: "And woman waiting for her demon lover." ⁸²
The poem is composed of two major episodes: one psychological,
the other telluric—a passion that breaks down all barriers and
the terrors of the unleashed forces of Nature. The angels Sam-
asa and Azazel burn with sinful love for the beautiful daughters
of Cain, Anah and Aholibamah, and thus break through the
barrier between mortals and immortals. Like Lucifer, they rebel
against God, and the archangel Raphael raises his voice in warn-
ing.

But man hath listened to his voice,
And ye to woman's—beautiful she is

⁸⁰ Trans. by Thomas and Guillemard p. 293
⁸² [Cf. *Kubla Khan* Poems p. 97—Faintly]

⁸¹ Genesis 6: 2

The serpent's voice less subtle than her kiss.
 The snake but vanquish'd dust; but she will draw
 A second host from heaven, to break heaven's law.⁸³

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The power of God is menaced by the seductions of passion; heaven is threatened with a second fall of angels. If we translate this projection back into the psychological sphere from whence it came, it would mean that the good and rational Power which rules the world with wise laws is threatened by the chaotic, primitive force of passion. Therefore passion must be exterminated, which means, in mythological projection, that the race of Cain and the whole sinful world must be wiped out, root and branch, by the Flood. That is the inevitable result of a passion that sweeps away all barriers. It is like the sea breaking through its dykes, like the waters of the deep and the torrential rains,⁸⁴ the creative, fructifying, "motherly" waters, as Indian mythology calls them. Now they depart from their natural courses and surge over the mountain tops and engulf all living things. As a power which transcends consciousness the libido is by nature daemonic: it is both God and devil. If evil were to be utterly destroyed, everything daemonic, including God himself, would suffer a grievous loss; it would be like per-

⁸³ Byron, p. 556

⁸⁴ Nature, the object par excellence, reflects all those contents of the unconscious which as such are not conscious to us. Many nuances of pleasure and pain perceived by the senses are unthinkingly attributed to the object, without our pausing to consider how far the object can be made responsible for them. An example of direct projection can be seen in the following modern Greek folksong:

Down on the strand, down on the shore,
 A maiden washed the kerchief of her lover . . .
 And a soft west wind came sighing over the shore,
 And lifted her skirt a little with its breath,
 So that a little of her ankles could be seen,
 And the seashore grew bright as all the world."

(Sanders, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen*, p. 81, cited in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, XII, 1902, p. 166) Here is a Germanic variant, from the *Fdda*

"In Gymsr's farm I saw
 A lovely maid coming towards me
 With the glory of her arm glowed
 The sky and all the everlasting sea"

(Gering, p. 53 cited in the *Zeitschrift*, p. 167) Projection also accounts for all the miraculous reports of "cosmic" events at the birth and death of heroes

forming an amputation on the body of the Deity Raphael's lament over the rebel angels Samiassa and Azazel suggests as much

Why
Cannot this earth be made or be destroy'd
Without involving ever some vast void
In the immortal ranks?

Passion raises a man not only above himself but also above the bounds of his mortality and earthliness and by the very act of raising him it destroys him This rising above himself is expressed mythologically in the building of the heaven high tower of Babel that brought confusion to mankind⁸⁵ and in the revolt of Lucifer In Byron's poem it is the overweening ambition of the race of Cain whose strivings make the stars subservient and corrupt the sons of God themselves Even if a longing for the highest is legitimate in itself the sinful presumption and inevitable corruption lie in the very fact that it goes beyond the fixed human boundaries The longing of the moth is not made pure by reaching for the stars nor does it cease to be a moth on account of such noble aspirations Man continues to be man Through excess of longing he can draw the gods down into the murk of his passion⁸⁶ He seems to be raising himself up to the Divine but in so doing he abandons his humanity Thus the love of Anah and Aholibamah for their angels becomes the ruin of gods and men Their impassioned invocation of the angels is an exact parallel to Miss Miller's poem

ANAH⁸⁷ Seraph
From thy sphere!
Whatever star⁸⁸ contain thy glory
In the eternal depths of heaven
Albeit thou watchest with the seven
Though through space infinite and hoary
Before thy bright wings worlds be driven
Yet hear!

⁸⁵ Cf the mythical heroes who after their greatest deeds fall into spiritual confusion
⁸⁶ The history of religion is full of such aberrations
⁸⁷ Anah is the beloved of Japheth the son of Noah She deserts him for the seraph
⁸⁸ The one invoked is actually a star Cf Miss Miller's "morning stars" par 60 above

Oh! think of her who holds thee dear!
And though she nothing is to thee,
Yet think that thou art all to her. . . .

Eternity is in thine ears,
Unborn, undying beauty in thine eyes;
With me thou canst not sympathize,
Except in love, and there thou must
Acknowledge that more loving dust
Ne'er wept beneath the skies.
Thou walk'st thy many worlds,⁸⁹ thou see'st
The face of him who made thee great,
As he hath made of me the least
Of those cast out from Eden's gate;
Yet, Seraph dear!
Oh hear!

For thou hast loved me, and I would not die
Until I know what I must die in knowing.
That thou forgett'st in thine eternity
Her whose heart death could not keep from o'erflowing
For thee, immortal essence as thou art!
Great is their love who love in sin and fear;
And such, I feel, are waging in my heart
A war unworthy: to an Adamite
Forgive, my Seraph! that such thoughts appear,
For sorrow is our element. . . .

The hour is near
Which tells me we are not abandon'd quite.
Appear! Appear!
Seraph!
My own Azaziell be but here,
And leave the stars to their own light. . . .

ANOLIBANIAN. I call thee, I await thee, and I love thee. .
Though I be form'd of clay,
And thou of beams
More bright than those of day
On Eden's streams,
Thine immortality cannot repay
With love more warm than mine
My love. There is a ray⁹⁰

⁸⁹ This is an attribute of the "wandering sun."

⁹⁰ The light substance of her own psyche.

In me, which, though forbidden yet to shine,
I feel was lighted at thy God's and thine⁹¹
It may be hidden long death and decay
Our mother Eve bequeathed us—but my heart
Defies it though this life must pass away,
Is *that* a cause for thee and me to part?

I can share all things, even immortal sorrow,
For thou hast ventured to share life with me,
And shall I shrink from thine eternity?
Not though the serpent's sting should pierce me thorough
And thou thyself wert like the serpent coil
Around me still⁹² and I will smile,
And curse thee not, but hold
Thee in as warm a fold
 descend, and prove
A mortal's love
For an immortal . . .

- 172 The apparition of both angels which follows the invocation
15, as always, a glorious vision of light

AHOLIBAMAH The clouds from off their pinions flinging
As though they bore tomorrow's light

ANAH But if our father see the sight

AHOLIBAMAH He would but deem it was the moon
Rising unto some sorcerer's tune
An hour too soon

ANAH Lo! they have kindled all the west,
Like a returning sunset lo!
On Ararat's late secret crest
A mild and many-coloured bow
The remnant of their flashing path
Now shines!

- 173 At the sight of this rainbow-hued vision both women are
filled with longing and expectation and Anah makes use of a

⁹¹ The bringing together of the two light substances shows their common origin
they are libidinal images According to Mechthild of Magdeburg (*Das fließende*
Licht der Gottheit) the soul is compounded of Minne (love)

⁹² Cf. the paintings by Stuck—Sin (pl. x) Vice and Sensuality—where a
woman's naked body is encircled by a huge snake At bottom it portrays the fear
of death

pregnant simile. Once more the abyss opens, and we catch a brief but terrifying glimpse of the theriomorphic nature of the mild god of light:

. . . and now, behold! it hath
Return'd to night, as rippling foam,
Which the leviathan hath lash'd
From his unfathomable home,
When sporting on the face of the calm deep,
Subsides soon after he again hath dash'd
Down, down, to where the ocean's fountains sleep.

¹⁷⁴ Leviathan—we remember this prize exhibit that tips the scales of Yahweh's justice so heavily against Job. There, where the deep fountains of the ocean are, dwells Leviathan; from there the all-destroying flood ascends, the tidal wave of animal passion. The choking, heart-constricting surge of instinct is projected outwards as a mounting flood to destroy everything that exists, so that a new and better world may arise from the ruins of the old:

JAPHET: The eternal Will
Shall deign to expound this dream
Of good and evil; and redeem
Unto himself all times, all things;
And, gather'd under his almighty wings,
Abolish hell!
And to the expiated Earth
Restore the beauty of her birth. . . .

SPIRITS: And when shall take effect this wondrous spell?

JAPHET: When the Redeemer cometh; first in pain,
And then in glory. . . .

SPIRITS: New times, new climes, new arts, new men; but still
The same old tears, old crimes, and oldest ill,
Shall be amongst your race in different forms;
But the same moral storms
Shall oversweep the future, as the waves
In a few hours the glorious giants' graves.²³

¹⁷⁵ Japhet's prognostications have an almost prophetic meaning for our poetess and must therefore be understood on the "sub-

²³ Byron, p. 551.

jective level' ⁹⁴ With the death of the moth in the light the danger has been removed for the time being, though the problem is still far from solved. The conflict must begin again from the beginning but this time there is a promise in the air, a premonition of the redeemer, the well beloved, who mounts to the zenith with the sun and then sinks again into night and the cold darkness of winter—the young dying god who has ever been our hope of renewal and of the world to come.

⁹⁴ Interpretation of the products of the unconscious for instance of a person in a dream has a double aspect: what that person means in himself (the objective level) and what he means as a projection ('subjective level'). Cf. *On the Psychology of the Unconscious* *Two Essays* par. 150.

II

I

INTRODUCTION

76 Before I enter upon the contents of this second part, it seems necessary to cast a backward glance over the singular train of thought which the analysis of the poem "The Moth to the Sun" has revealed. Although this poem is very different from the preceding "Hymn of Creation," closer investigation of the longing for the sun has led us into a realm of mythological ideas that are closely related to those considered in the first poem: the Creator God, whose dual nature was plainly apparent in the case of Job, has now taken on an astromythological, or rather an astrological, character. He has become the sun, and thus finds a natural expression that transcends his moral division into a Heavenly Father and his counterpart the devil. The sun, as Renan has observed, is the only truly "rational" image of God, whether we adopt the standpoint of the primitive savage or of modern science. In either case the sun is the father god from whom all living things draw life; he is the fructifier and creator, the source of energy for our world. The discord into which the human soul has fallen can be harmoniously resolved through the sun as a natural object which knows no inner conflict. The sun is not only beneficial, but also destructive; hence the zodiacal sign for August heat is the ravaging lion which Samson¹ slew in order to rid the parched earth of its torment. Yet it is in the nature of the sun to scorch, and its scorching power seems natural to man. It shines equally on the just and the unjust, and allows useful creatures to flourish as well as the harmful. Therefore the sun is perfectly suited to represent the visible God of this world, i. e., the creative power of our own soul, which we call libido, and whose nature it is to bring forth the useful and the harmful, the good and the bad. That this comparison is not

¹ Samson as a sun god. See Steinthal. Die Sage von Samson. The killing of the lion, like the Mithraic bull sacrifice, is an anticipation of the god's self sacrifice.

just a matter of words can be seen from the teachings of the mystics: when they descend into the depths of their own being they find "in their heart" the image of the sun, they find their own life force which they call the "sun" for a legitimate and, I would say, a *physical* reason, because our source of energy and life actually is the sun. Our physiological life, regarded as an energy process, is entirely solar. The peculiar nature of this solar energy as inwardly perceived by the mystic is made clear in Indian mythology. The following passages, referring to Rudra,² are taken from the Shvetashvatara Upanishad:

There is one Rudra only, they do not allow a second, who rules all the worlds by his powers. Behind all creatures he stands, the Protector; having created them, he gathers all beings together at the end of time.

He has eyes on all sides, faces on all sides, arms on all sides, feet on all sides. He is the one God who created heaven and earth, forging all things together with his hands and wings.

You who are the source and origin of the gods, the ruler of all, Rudra, the great seer, who of old gave birth to the Golden Seed—give us enlightenment!³

¹⁷⁷ Behind these attributes we can discern the All Creator, and behind him the sun, who is winged and scans the world with a thousand eyes.⁴ (Cf. fig. 11.) This is confirmed by the following passages, which bring out the important point that God is contained in the individual creature:

Beyond this is Brahma, the highest, hidden in the bodies of all, encompassing all. Those who know him as the Lord become immortal.

² Rudra, properly—as father of the Maruts (winds)—a wind or storm god, appears here as the sole creator god, as the text shows. The role of creator and fertilizer naturally falls to him as a wind god. Cf. my comments on Anaxagoras in pars 67 and 76, above.

³ Trans. of this and the following passages (Shvet Up 2-4; 7, 8, 11; 12-15) based on Hume, *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, pp 399-401, and Max Muller, *The Upanishads*, II, pp 244ff.

⁴ Similarly, the Persian sun god Mithras is equipped with an immense number of eyes. It is possible that Loyola's vision of the snake with multiple eyes is a variant of this motif. See my "On the Nature of the Psyche," par 395.

I know this mighty Person (purusha), who is like to the sun, transcendent over darkness. Those who know him truly pass beyond death: by no other road can they go.

He is in the fire, the head, the neck of all: he dwells in the heart of all things, all pervading, bountiful, omnipresent, kindly.

178 The all-powerful God, who is 'like to the sun' is in every one of us, and whoever knows him is immortal. Following the



Fig. 11. Bes with Horus eyes.
From a figure, Egypt, c. 6th century B.C.

179 There is a famous parallel passage in the Katha Upanishad:
That Person in the heart, no bigger than a thumb, burning like flame without smoke, maker of past and future, the same today and tomorrow, that is Self.⁶

180 We know that Tom Thumbs, dactyls, and Cabiri have a phallic aspect, and this is understandable enough, because they are personifications of creative forces, of which the phallus, too, is a symbol. It represents the libido, or psychic energy in its creative aspect. The same is true of many other sexual images which are found not only in dreams and fantasies but in everyday speech. In neither case should they be taken literally, for they are not to be understood semiotically, as *signs* for definite things, but as *symbols*. A symbol is an indefinite expression with many meanings, pointing to something not easily defined and therefore not fully known. But the sign always has a fixed meaning, because it is a conventional abbreviation for, or a commonly accepted indication of, something known. The symbol therefore has a large number of analogous variants, and the more of these variants it has at its disposal, the more complete and clear cut will be the image it projects of its object. The same creative force which is symbolized by Tom Thumb, etc., can also be represented by the phallus or by numerous other symbols (pl. x1b), which delineate further aspects of the process underlying them all. Thus the *creative dwarfs* toil away in secret; the *phallus*, also working in darkness, begets a living being; and the *key* unlocks the mysterious forbidden door behind which some wonderful thing awaits discovery. One thinks, in this connection, of "The Mothers" in *Faust*:

MEPHISTOPHELES: Congratulations, before you part from me!
You know the devil, that is plain to see.
Here, take this key.

FAUST: That little thing! But why?

MEPHISTOPHELES: First grasp it; it is nothing to decry.

⁶ 4. 13 trans by Purohit Swami and Yeats, p. 34 [Or. in René Guénon's trans. *Man and His Becoming according to the Vedanta*, p. 45 "This Purusha, of the size of a thumb, is of a clear luminosity like a smokeless fire, it is the Lord of the past and of the future, it is today, and it will be tomorrow, such as it is" —TRANS.]

FAUST: It glows, it shines, increases in my hand! ⁷

MEPHISTOPHELES: How great its worth, you soon shall understand.
The key will smell the right place from all others:
Follow it down, it leads you to the Mothers! ⁸

- ¹¹ Here the devil again puts into Faust's hand the marvellous tool, as once before when, in the form of the black dog, he introduced himself to Faust as:

Part of that power which would
Ever work evil, but engenders good. ⁹

- ² What he is describing here is the libido, which is not only creative and procreative, but possesses an intuitive faculty, a



Fig. 12 The birth giving onfice
From a Mexican Ilenzo

strange power to "smell the right place," almost as if it were a live creature with an independent life of its own (which is why it is so easily personified). It is purposive, like sexuality itself, a favourite object of comparison. The "realm of the Mothers" has not a few connections with the womb (fig. 12), with the matrix, which frequently symbolizes the creative aspect of the unconscious. This libido is a force of nature, good and bad at once, or morally neutral. Uniting himself with it, Faust succeeds in accomplishing his real life's work, at first with evil results and then for the benefit of mankind. In the realm of the Mothers he finds the tripod, the Hermetic vessel in which the "royal marriage" is consummated. But he needs the phallic

⁷ The light symbolism in the etymology of *φάλλος* is discussed in para. 321f. below. ⁸ *Faust*, Part II, trans. based on MacNeice, p. 177

⁹ *Ibid.*, Part I, trans. by Wayne, p. 75, modified

wand in order to bring off the greatest wonder of all—the creation of Paris and Helen.¹⁰ The insignificant-looking tool in Faust's hand is the dark creative power of the unconscious, which reveals itself to those who follow its dictates and is indeed capable of working miracles.¹¹ This paradox appears to be very ancient, for the Shvetashvatara Upanishad (19, 20) goes on to say of the dwarf-god, the cosmic *purusha*:

Without feet, without hands, he moves, he grasps; eyeless he sees, earless he hears, he knows all that is to be known, yet there is no knower of him. Men call him the Primordial Person, the Cosmic Man.

Smaller than small, greater than great. . . .

¹⁸³ The phallus often stands for the creative divinity, Hermes being an excellent example. It is sometimes thought of as an independent being, an idea that is found not only in antiquity but in the drawings of children and artists of our own day. So we ought not to be surprised if certain phallic characteristics are also to be found in the seers, artists, and wonder-workers of mythology. Hephaestus, Wieland the Smith, and Mani (the founder of Manichaeism, famous also for his artistic gifts), had crippled feet. The foot, as I shall explain in due course, is supposed to possess a magical generative power. The ancient seer Melampus, who is said to have introduced the cult of the phallus, had a very peculiar name—Blackfoot,¹² and it also seems characteristic of seers to be blind. Ugliness and deformity are especially characteristic of those mysterious chthonic gods, the sons of Hephaestus, the Cabiri,¹³ to whom mighty wonder-working powers were ascribed. (Fig. 13.) Their Samothracian cult was closely bound up with that of the ithyphallic Hermes, who according to Herodotus was brought to Attica by the Pelasgians. They were called *μεγάλοι θεοί*, 'great gods.' Their near relatives were the Idaean dactyls (fingers or else Tom

¹⁰ *Psychology and Alchemy*, index s.v. "coniunctio." For a psychological account of the problem, see my "Psychology of the Transference."

¹¹ Goethe is here referring to the "miracle" of the Chrysopoeia, or gold making. It is also said that, out of gratitude to him for having buried the mother of the serpents, the young serpents cleaned his ears, so that he became clairaudient.

¹² Cf. the vase painting from the Cabinon at Thebes (fig. 14), where the Cabiri are depicted in a noble as well as a caricatured form (Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. "Megaloí Theoi"). Cf. also *Κερένη*, "The Mysteries of the Kabeiroi."

Thumbs²⁴) to whom the mother of the gods had taught the blacksmith's art (Follow it down it leads you to the Mothers!) They were the first Wise Men the teachers of Orpheus and it was they who invented the Ephesian magic formulae and the musical rhythms²⁵ The characteristic disparity which we noted in the Upanishads and *Faust* crops up again here since the giant Hercules was said to be an Idaean dactyl Also the colossal Phrygians Rhea's technicians²⁶ were dactyls The two Dioscuri are related to the Cabiri²⁷ they too wear the queer little pointed hat, the pileus²⁸ which is peculiar to these mysterious gods and was thenceforward perpetuated as a secret mark of identification Attis and Mithras both wore the pileus (Cf figs 9-20) It has become the traditional headgear of our infantile chthonic gods today the pixies and goblins

¹⁸⁴ The dwarf motif brings us to the figure of the divine boy the *puer aeternus* was the young Dionysus Jupiter Anxurus Tages etc In the Theban vase painting already mentioned (fig 14) there is a bearded Dionysus who is designated as ΚΑΒΙΡΟΣ together with the figure of a boy labelled ΠΑΙΣ followed by a caricatured boy's figure labelled as ΠΠΑΤΟΛΑΟΣ and then another bearded caricature labelled ΜΙΤΟΣ²⁹ Μιτος really means thread but in Orphic speech it stands for semen It is conjectured that this group corresponded to a set of cult images in the sanctuary The conjecture is supported by what we know of the history of the cult which is supposed to have been originally a Phoenician cult of father and son³⁰ an old and a young Cabir who were more or less assimilated to the Greek gods The double figure of the adult and infant Dionysus lends

²⁴ Justification for calling the dactyls Thumbings may be found in a note in Pliny (VII 57 Bostock and Riley trans II p 225) where he says that in Crete there were precious stones iron coloured and shaped like a thumb which were known as Idaean dactyls

²⁵ Hence the dactyl cetera in poetry ²⁶ Roscher s.v. Daktylof

²⁷ Varro identifies the μεγάλοι θεοί with the *penates* He says the sisters duo viri ha Castoris et Pollucis in the father of Samothrace were Cabiri

²⁸ Statues only a foot high with caps on the heads were found at Praenae on the Laconian coast and at Pepheros

²⁹ Next to him is a female figure labelled ΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ orphically interpreted as she who brings forth

³⁰ Poscher s.v. "Megaloι Theoi" Today an ancient Mesopotamian pre-Grecian origin is regarded as more probable Cf Kerényi *Die Geburt der Helena* p 59

itself particularly well to this assimilation. One might also call it the cult of the big and little man. Now Dionysus, under his various aspects, is a god in whose cult the phallus occupied a prominent position, as for instance in the worship of the Argive Dionysus-bull. Moreover the phallic herm of the god gave rise to a personification of the phallus of Dionysus in the form of the god Phales, who was nothing but a Priapus. He was called *ἐταῖρος* or *σύνγκωμος Βακχίου*.²¹ The paradox of great and small, giant and dwarf in the Upanishadic text is expressed less dras-



Fig 13 Odysseus as a Cabiric dwarf, with Circe
From a bowl by the Cabiri Painter (I), c. 400 B.C.

tically here as man and boy, or father and son. The motif of deformity (cf. fig. 13), which constantly appears in the Cabiric cult, is also present in the vase painting, where the parallel figures to Dionysus and Παις are the caricatured Μίτρος and Πρατόλαος.²² Just as formerly the difference in size led to their separation, so now they are separated by deformity.

¹⁸⁵ All this goes to show that though the term "libido," introduced by Freud, is not without a sexual connotation,²³ an exclu-

²¹ Companion and fellow reveller of Bacchus." Roscher, s.v. "Phales"

²² Illustrated in Kerényi, "The Mysteries of the Kabeiroi," fig. 1 (and our fig. 14)

²³ Freud, in "Notes on . . . a Case of Paranoia," pp. 78f., which appeared simultaneously with Part I of this book (1st [1912] edition), makes an observation that closely parallels my own remarks concerning the "libido theory" based on the fantasies of the insane Schreber "Schreber's 'rays of God,' which are made up of a condensation of the sun's rays, of nerve fibres, and of spermatozoa, are in reality nothing else than a concrete representation and projection outwards of libidinal cathexes, and they thus lend his delusions a striking conformity with our theory. His belief that the world must come to an end because his ego was

sively sexual definition of this concept is one sided and must therefore be rejected Appetite and compulsion are the specific features of all impulses and automatisms No more than the sexual metaphors of common speech can the corresponding analogies in instinctual processes, and the symptoms and dreams to which they give rise, be taken literally The sexual theory of psychic automatisms is an untenable prejudice The very fact that it is impossible to derive the whole mass of psychic phenomena from a single instinct forbids a one sided definition of "libido" I



Fig. 14 The banquet of the Cabir
From a bowl by the Cabir Painter, c. 435 B.C.

use this term in the general sense in which it was understood by the classical authors Cicero gives it a very wide meaning

They hold that from two kinds of expected good arise desire and delight, in the sense that delight is concerned with present good and desire with future good since desire being tempted and enflamed is carried away towards what seems good For all men naturally pursue those things that seem good and shun their opposites Wherefore, as soon as anything presents itself that seems good nature herself impels them to obtain it If this is done with moderation and prudence the Stoics call that kind of striving *βούλησις* and we call it *will* In their opinion this is found only in the wise man and they define it as follows will is a rational desire but when it is

attracting all the rays to itself his anxious concern at a later period during the process of reconstruction lest God should sever his ray-connection with him —these and many other details of Schreber's delusional formation sound almost like endopsychic perceptions of the processes whose existence I have assumed in these pages as the basis of our explanation of paranoia.

divorced from reason and is too violently aroused, that is "libido," or unbridled desire, which is found in all fools.²¹

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Here *libido* means a 'want' or a 'wish,' and also, in contradistinction to the 'will' of the Stoics, 'unbridled desire' Cicero uses it in this sense when he says: "[Gerere rem aliquam] libidine, non ratione" (to do something from wilful desire and not from reason).²² Similarly Sallust: "Iracundia pars est libidinis" (rage is a part of desire), or, in a milder and more general sense which comes closer to our use of the word: "Magisque in decoris armis et militaribus equis, quam in scortis atque conviviis libidinem habebant" (they took more pleasure in fine weapons and war horses than in whores and drinking parties).²³ Or again: "Quod si tibi bona libido fuerit patriae" (if you have a proper concern for your country).²⁴ The use of *libido* is so general that the phrase "*libido est scire*" merely means 'I like,' 'it pleases me.'²⁵ In the phrase "*aliquam libido urinae lacessit*," *libido* has the meaning of 'urge.' It can also have the nuance of 'lasciviousness.' St. Augustine aptly defines *libido* as a "general term for all desire" and says:

There is a lust for revenge, which is called rage, a lust for having money, which is called avarice; a lust for victory at all costs, which is called stubbornness, a lust for self-glorification, which is called boastfulness. There are many and varied kinds of lust, some of which are specifically named, others not. For who could easily give a name to the lust for domination, which, as we know from the civil wars, is nevertheless very powerful in the minds of tyrants?²⁶

²¹ Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, Book IV, vi, 12 ([volunt ex duobus opinatus] bonis [nasci] . . . libidinem et laetitiam, ut sit laetitia praesentium bonorum, libido futurorum . . . cum libido ad id, quod videtur bonum, illecta et inflata rapiatur . . . natura enim omnes ea quae bona videntur, sequuntur, fugiunt quae contraria, quam ob rem simul obiecta species est cuiuspiam, quod bonum videatur, ad id adipiscendum impellit ipsa natura. Id cum constanter prudenterque fit, eiusmodi appetitionem Stoici *βούλησις* appellant, nos appellemus voluntatem. eam illi putant in solo esse sapiente, quam sic definiunt voluntas est quae quid cum ratione desiderat quae autem a ratione aversa incitata est vehementius, ea libido est, vel cupiditas effrenata, quae in omnibus stultis invenitur)

²² *Pro Quinctio*, 14

²³ *The War with Catiline*, VII, trans. by Rolfe, pp. 14-15.

²⁴ *Letter to Caesar*, XIII, trans. *ibid.*, pp. 488-89.

²⁵ In this sense the word *libidine* is still commonly used in Tuscany today.

²⁶ *De Civitate Dei*, XIV, xv (Est igitur libido ulciscendi, quae ira dicitur est libido habendi pecuniam, quae avaritia, est libido quomocumque vincendi, quae per

For him libido denotes an appetite like hunger and thirst, and so far as sexuality is concerned he says 'Pleasure is preceded by an appetite that is felt in the flesh a kind of desire like hunger and thirst' ³⁰ This very wide use of the term in the classics coincides with the etymological context

Libido or *lubido* (with *libet*, formerly *lubet*) it pleases, *libens* or *lubens*, gladly, willingly Skr *lubhyati*, 'to experience violent longing' *lobhayati*, excites longing' *lubdhah*, 'eager, *lōbhah*, longing eagerness Goth *lufts*, OHG *liob*, love Also associated with Goth *lubains*, 'hope' and OHG *lobōn*, *loben* *lob*, praise, glory OBulg *ljubiti*, to love *ljuby*, love, Lith *liaupsinti*, to praise' ³¹

We can say then that the concept of libido in psychology has functionally the same significance as the concept of energy in physics since the time of Robert Mayer ³²

vicacia est lib do gloriandi quae iactantia nuncupatur Sunt multae variaeque libidines quarum nonnullae habent etiam vocabula propria quaedam vero non habent Quis enim facile dixerit quid vocetur lib do dominandi quam tamen plurimum valere in tyrannorum animis etiam civilia bella testantur?
³⁰ Ibid (Voluptatem vero praecedat appetitus quidam qui sentitur in carne quasi cupiditas eius scilicet fames et sitis)

³¹ Walde *Worterbuch* p. 426 s.v. *libet*. *Liberi* children is grouped with *libet* by Nazari (pp. 573f) If this is correct then *Liberi* the ancient Italian god of procreation who is most certainly connected with *liberi* would also be related to *libet* *Libitina* the goddess of the dead is supposed to have nothing to do with *Lubentina* or *Lubentina* (an attribute of *Venus*) which is related to *libet* The name is as yet unexplained

³² See my *On Psychic Energy* par. 57

II

THE CONCEPT OF LIBIDO

190 Freud introduced his concept of libido in his *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*,¹ and there, as we have said, he defined it *sexually*. The libido appears subject to displacement, and in the form of "libidinal affluxes" can communicate itself to various other functions and regions of the body which in themselves have nothing to do with sex. This fact led Freud to compare the libido with a stream, which is divisible, can be dammed up, overflows into collaterals, and so on.² Thus, despite his definition of libido as sexuality, Freud does not explain "everything" in terms of sex, as is commonly supposed, but recognizes the existence of special instinctual forces whose nature is not clearly known, but to which he was bound to ascribe the faculty of taking up these "libidinal affluxes." At the back of all this lies the hypothetical idea of a "bundle of instincts,"³ in which the sexual instinct figures as a partial instinct. Its encroachment into the sphere of other instincts is a fact of experience.⁴ The resultant Freudian theory, which held that the instinctual forces of a neurotic system correspond to the libidinal affluxes taken up by other, non-sexual, instinctual functions,⁵

¹ [Originally *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie*, 1905—EDITORS.]

² "Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality," pp 135ff.

³ An idea which Möbius tried to resuscitate. Fouillée, Wundt, Beneke, Spencer, and Ribot are among the more modern writers who recognize the psychological primacy of the instincts.

⁴ But the same is also true of hunger. I once had a patient whom I had freed pretty well from her symptoms. One day she suddenly turned up with what looked like a complete relapse into her earlier neurosis. I was unable to explain it at first, until I discovered that she was so engrossed in a lively fantasy that she had forgotten to eat lunch. A glass of milk and a slice of bread successfully removed the "hunger afflux."

⁵ Freud ("Essays on the Theory of Sexuality," p 163) says "I must first explain . . . that all my experience shows that these psychoneuroses are based on sexual in-

has become the keystone of the psychoanalytical theory of neurosis and the dogma of the Viennese school. Later, however, Freud was forced to ponder whether libido might not in the end coincide with *interest* in general (Here I would remark that it was a case of paranoid schizophrenia that gave rise to these considerations.) The operative passage, which I set down word for word, runs

A third consideration which arises from the views that have been developed in these pages is as follows. Are we to suppose that a general detachment of the libido from the external world would be an effective enough agent to account for the end of the world? Or would not the ego cathexes which still remained in existence have been sufficient to maintain *rapprochement* with the external world? To meet this difficulty we should either have to assume that what we call libidinal cathexis (that is, interest emanating from erotic sources) coincides with interest in general, or we should have to consider the possibility that a very widespread disturbance in the distribution of the libido may bring about a corresponding disturbance in the ego-cathexes. But these are problems which we are still quite helpless and incompetent to solve. It would be otherwise if we could start out from some well grounded theory of instincts, but in fact we have nothing of the kind at our disposal. We regard instinct as being the concept on the frontier line between the somatic and the mental, and we see in it the psychical representative of organic forces. Further, we accept the popular distinction between ego instincts and a sexual instinct, for such a distinction seems to agree with the biological conception that the individual has a double orientation, aiming on the one hand at self preservation and on the other at the preservation of the species. But beyond this are only hypotheses which we have taken up—and are quite ready to drop again—in order to help us to find our bearings in the chaos of the obscurer processes of the mind. What we expect from the psycho-analytic investigations of pathological mental processes is precisely that they shall drive us to some conclusions on questions connected with the theory of instincts. These investigations, however, are in their infancy and are only

instinctual forces. By this I do not merely mean that the energy of the sexual instinct makes a contribution to the forces that maintain the pathological manifestations (the symptoms). I mean expressly to assert that that contribution is the most important and only constant source of energy of the nervous and that in consequence the sexual life of the persons in question is expressed—whether exclusively or principally or only partly—in these symptoms."

being carried out by isolated workers, so that the hopes we place in them must still remain unfulfilled.⁶

⁹¹ Nevertheless, Freud finally decides that the paranoid alteration is sufficiently explained by the recession of sexual libido. He says:

It therefore appears to me far more probable that the paranoid's altered relation to the world is to be explained entirely or in the main by the loss of his libidinal interest.⁷

⁹² In this passage Freud broaches the question of whether the well-known loss of reality in paranoia and schizophrenia,⁸ to which I have drawn attention in my *Psychology of Dementia Praecox*,⁹ is to be traced back solely to the recession of the "libidinal condition," or whether this condition ordinarily coincides with "objective interest." It can hardly be supposed that the normal "fonction du réel," to use Janet's term,¹⁰ is maintained only through affluxes of libido or erotic interest. The fact is that in very many cases reality disappears entirely, so that the patient shows no trace of psychological adaptation. (In these states, reality has been buried under the contents of the unconscious.) One is compelled to admit that not only the erotic interest, but all interest whatsoever, has completely disappeared except for a few feeble flickers, and with it the man's whole relation to reality. If the libido were really nothing but sexuality, what would happen in the case of eunuchs? In their case it is precisely the "libidinal" interest that has been cut off, but they do not necessarily react with schizophrenia. The term "afflux of libido" connotes something that is highly questionable. Many apparently sexual contents and processes are mere metaphors and analogies, as for instance "fire" for passion, "heat" for anger, "marriage" for a bond or union, etc. Presumably no one imagines that all plumbers who connect up male and female pipe-joints, or all electricians who work with

⁶ Notes on a Case of Paranoia," pp 73ff

⁷ Ibid. p 75

⁸ Schreber's case, which Freud is here discussing, is not a pure paranoia. See Schreber, *Memoirs of My Nervous Illness*

⁹ Pp 30ff. Also see "The Content of the Psychoses"

¹⁰ Cf "The Psychology of Dementia Praecox," pars 19, 195.

male and female outlets, are blessed with particularly potent "affluxes of libido"?

Earlier, in *The Psychology of Dementia Praecox*, I made use of the term "psychic energy," because what is lacking in this disease is evidently more than erotic interest as such. If one tried to explain the loss of relationship, the schizophrenic dissociation between man and world, purely by the recession of eroticism, the inevitable result would be to inflate the idea of sexuality in a typically Freudian manner. One would then be forced to say that every relationship to the world was in essence a sexual relationship, and the idea of sexuality would become so nebulous that the very word "sexuality" would be deprived of all meaning. The fashionable term "psychosexuality" is a clear symptom of this conceptual inflation. But in schizophrenia far more is lacking to reality than could ever be laid at the door of sexuality in the strict sense of the word. The "fonction du réel" is absent to such a degree as to include the loss of certain instinctual forces which cannot possibly be supposed to have a sexual character, for no one in his senses would maintain that reality is nothing but a function of sex! And even if it were, the introversion of libido in the neuroses would necessarily be followed by a loss of reality comparable with that which occurs in schizophrenia. But that is far from being the case. As Freud himself has pointed out, introversion and regression of sexual libido leads, at the worst, to neurosis, but not to schizophrenia.

94 The attitude of reserve which I adopted towards the sexual theory in the preface to *The Psychology of Dementia Praecox*, despite the fact that I recognized the psychological mechanisms pointed out by Freud, was dictated by the general position of the libido theory at that time. The theory as it then stood did not permit me to explain functional disturbances which affect the sphere of other instincts just as much as that of sex, solely in the light of a one-sided sexual theory. An interpretation in terms of energy seemed to me better suited to the facts than the doctrine set forth in Freud's *Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*. It allowed me to identify "psychic energy" with "libido." The latter term denotes a desire or impulse which is unchecked by any kind of authority, moral or otherwise. Libido is appetite in its natural state. From the genetic point of view it is bodily needs like hunger, thirst, sleep, and sex, and emo-

tional states or affects, which constitute the essence of libido. All these factors have their differentiations and subtle ramifications in the highly complicated human psyche. There can be no doubt that even the highest differentiations were developed from simpler forms. Thus, many complex functions, which today must be denied all trace of sexuality, were originally derived from the reproductive instinct. As we know, an important change occurred in the principles of propagation during the ascent through the animal kingdom: the vast numbers of gametes which chance fertilization made necessary were progressively reduced in favour of assured fertilization and effective protection of the young. The decreased production of ova and spermatozoa set free considerable quantities of energy which soon sought and found new outlets. Thus we find the first stirrings of the artistic impulse in animals, but subservient to the reproductive instinct and limited to the breeding season. The original sexual character of these biological phenomena gradually disappears as they become organically fixed and achieve functional independence. Although there can be no doubt that music originally belonged to the reproductive sphere, it would be an unjustified and fantastic generalization to put music in the same category as sex. Such a view would be tantamount to treating of Cologne Cathedral in a text-book of mineralogy, on the ground that it consisted very largely of stones.

195 Consequently, to speak of libido as the urge to propagation is to remain within the confines of a view which distinguishes libido from hunger in the same way that the instinct for the preservation of the species is distinguished from the instinct for self preservation. In nature, of course, this artificial distinction does not exist. There we see only a continuous life urge, a will to live which seeks to ensure the continuance of the whole species through the preservation of the individual. Thus far our conception of libido coincides with Schopenhauer's Will, inasmuch as a movement perceived from outside can only be grasped as the manifestation of an inner will or desire. This throwing of psychological perceptions into material reality is known in philosophy as "introjection."¹¹ Through introjection one's world picture becomes subjectivized, and it is to this same

¹¹ Ferenczi's use of the term "introjection" denotes the exact opposite taking the external world into oneself. Cf. his "Introjection and Transference," p. 47

process that the physical concept of force owes its existence. As Galileo aptly remarked, its origin is to be sought in the subjective perception of our own muscular power. Similarly, the concept of libido as desire or appetite is an *interpretation* of the process of psychic energy, which we experience precisely in the form of an appetite. We know as little about what underlies it as we know about what the psyche is *per se*.

Having once made the bold conjecture that the libido which was originally employed in the production of ova and spermatozoa is now firmly organized in the function of nest-building, for instance, and can no longer be employed otherwise, we are compelled to regard every striving and every desire, including hunger and instinct however understood, as equally a phenomenon of energy.

This view leads to a conception of libido which expands into a conception of *intentionality* in general. As the above quotation from Freud shows, we know far too little about the nature of human instincts and their psychic dynamism to risk giving priority to any one instinct. We would be better advised, therefore, when speaking of libido, to understand it as an energy-value which is able to communicate itself to any field of activity whatsoever, be it power, hunger, hatred, sexuality, or religion, without ever being itself a specific instinct. As Schopenhauer says: "The Will as a thing in itself is quite different from its phenomenal manifestation, and entirely free from all forms of phenomenality, which it assumes only when it becomes manifest, and which therefore affect its objectivity only, and are foreign to the Will itself."¹²

Numerous mythological and philosophical attempts have been made to formulate and visualize the creative force which man knows only by subjective experience. To give but a few examples, I would remind the reader of the cosmogonic significance of Eros in Hesiod,¹³ and also of the Orphic figure of Phanes (pl. xiv), The Shining One, the First Created, the "Father of Eros." Orphically, too, he has the significance of Priapus; he is bisexual and equated with the Theban Dionysus Lysius.¹⁴ The Orphic significance of Phanes is akin to that of the Indian Kama, the god of love, who is likewise a cosmogonic

¹² *The World as Will and Idea*, trans. by Haldane and Kemp, I p 145 modified

¹³ *Theogony*, 120

¹⁴ Cf Roscher, *Lexikon*, III, II, 2238ff

principle. To the Neoplatonist Plotinus, the world-soul is the energy of the intellect.¹⁵ He compares the One, the primordial creative principle, with light, the intellect with the sun (σ), and the world-soul with the moon (φ). Or again, he compares the One with the Father and the intellect with the Son.¹⁶ The One, designated as Uranos, is transcendent; the Son (Kronos) has dominion over the visible world; and the world-soul (Zeus) is subordinate to him. The One, or the *ousia* of existence in totality, is described by Plotinus as hypostatic, and so are the three forms of emanation; thus we have *μία οὐσία ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεων* (one being in three hypostases). As Drews has observed, this is also the formula for the Christian Trinity as laid down at the councils of Nicaea and of Constantinople.¹⁷ We might add that certain early Christian sects gave a maternal significance to the Holy Ghost (world soul or moon). According to Plotinus, the world soul has a tendency towards separation and divisibility, the *sine qua non* of all change, creation, and reproduction. It is an "unending All of life" and wholly energy; a living organism of ideas which only become effective and real in it.¹⁸ The intellect is its progenitor and father, and what the intellect conceives the world-soul brings to birth in reality.¹⁹ "What lies enclosed in the intellect comes to birth in the world-soul as Logos, fills it with meaning and makes it drunken as if with nectar."²⁰ Nectar, like soma, is the drink of fertility and immortality. The soul is fructified by the intellect; as the "over-soul" it is called the heavenly Aphrodite, as the "undersoul" the earthly Aphrodite. It knows "the pangs of birth."²¹ It is not without reason that the dove of Aphrodite is the symbol of the Holy Ghost.

¹⁹⁹ The energetic standpoint has the effect of freeing psychic energy from the bonds of a too narrow definition. Experience shows that instinctual processes of whatever kind are often intensified to an extraordinary degree by an afflux of energy, no matter where it comes from. This is true not only of sexuality, but of hunger and thirst too. One instinct can temporarily be depotentiated in favour of another instinct, and this is true of psychic activities in general. To assume that it is always and

¹⁵ Drews, *Plotin*, p. 127.

¹⁸ Plotinus, *Enneads*, II, 5, 3

²¹ Drews, p. 141.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 132

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, 8, 3.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 135

²⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 5, 9.

only sexuality which is subject to these depotentiations would be a sort of psychic equivalent of the phlogiston theory in physics and chemistry. Freud himself was somewhat sceptical about the existing theories of instinct, and rightly so. Instinct is a very mysterious manifestation of life, partly psychic and partly physiological by nature. It is one of the most conservative functions in the psyche and is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to change. Pathological maladjustments, such as the neuroses, are therefore more easily explained by the patient's attitude to instinct than by a sudden change in the latter. But the patient's attitude is a complicated psychological problem, which it would certainly not be if his attitude depended on instinct. The motive forces at the back of neurosis come from all sorts of congenital characteristics and environmental influences, which together build up an attitude that makes it impossible for him to lead a life in which the instincts are satisfied. Thus the neurotic perversion of instinct in a young person is intimately bound up with a similar disposition in the parents, and the disturbance in the sexual sphere is a secondary and not a primary phenomenon. Hence there can be no sexual theory of neurosis, though there may very well be a psychological one.

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This brings us back to our hypothesis that it is not the sexual instinct, but a kind of neutral energy, which is responsible for the formation of such symbols as light, fire, sun, and the like. The loss of the reality function in schizophrenia does not produce a heightening of sexuality. It produces a world of fantasy with marked archaic features.²² This is not to deny that, particularly at the beginning of the illness, violent sexual disturbances may sometimes occur, though they occur just as often in any intensive experience, such as panic, rage, religious mania, etc. The fact that an archaic world of fantasy takes the place of reality in schizophrenia proves nothing about the nature of the reality function as such; it only demonstrates the well known biological fact that whenever a more recent system suffers deterioration it is likely to be replaced by a more primitive and therefore obsolete one. To use Freud's simile, one begins firing with bows and arrows instead of with guns. A loss of the latest

²² Cf. Spielrein, "Über den psychologischen Inhalt eines Falles von Schizophrenie,"

acquisitions of the reality function (or adaptation) must of necessity be replaced, if at all, by an earlier mode of adaptation. We find this principle in the theory of neurosis which holds that any failure of adaptation is compensated by an older one, that is, by a regressive reactivation of the parental imagos. In neurosis the substitute product is a fantasy of individual origin and scope with hardly a trace of those archaic features which are characteristic of the fantasies of schizophrenics. Again, in neurosis there is never an actual loss of reality, only a falsification of it. In schizophrenia, on the other hand, reality has all but disappeared. I must thank my erstwhile pupil J. Honegger, whose work²³ was unfortunately cut short by an early death, for a simple illustration of this. A paranoid patient of good intelligence, who knew very well that the earth was a sphere and rotated round the sun, superseded all our modern views of astronomy by an elaborate system of his own devising, where the earth was a flat disc over which the sun travelled. Spielrein, too, gives some interesting examples of archaic definitions which, in the course of the illness, begin superimposing themselves on the meanings of words. Thus, one of her women patients declared that the mythological analogue of alcohol was an "emission of seed," i.e., soma.²⁴ She also hit upon a symbolism of cooking which parallels the alchemical vision of Zosimos, who saw, in the "bowl" of the altar, people being transformed in boiling water.²⁵ The patient substituted earth,²⁶ and also water,²⁷ for "mother." (Cf. pls. xiv, xxvi.)

201 What I said above about a disturbed reality function being replaced by an archaic substitute is supported by a remark of Spielrein's: "I often had the illusion that the patients might simply be victims of a deep-rooted folk superstition."²⁸ As a matter of fact, patients do set up, in place of reality, fantasies very like certain archaic ideas which once had a reality function. But, as the vision of Zosimos shows, the old superstitions were

²³ It was never published [He committed suicide in 1911—EDITORS]

²⁴ Spielrein, pp. 338, 353, 387. See par. 246, n. 41, below, for soma as "seminal fluid."

²⁵ Berthelot, *Collection*, III, 1, 2ff. (Textes, pp. 107-12. Traductions, pp. 117-21) [Cf. "The Visions of Zosimos" par. 86—EDITORS]

²⁶ Spielrein, p. 345

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 338

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 397

symbols²⁹ that sought to give adequate expression to the unknown in the world (and in the psyche). The "conception" (*Auffassung*) gives us a "handle" (*Griff*) by which to "grasp hold" of things (*fassen, begreifen*), and the resultant "concept" (*Begriff*) enables us to take possession of them. Functionally, the concept corresponds to the *magically powerful name* which gets a grip on the object. This not only renders the object harmless, but incorporates it into the psychic system, thus increasing the meaning and power of the human mind. (Compare the primitive respect for name-giving in the *Alvissmal* of the Elder Edda.) Spielrein evidently thinks symbols have a similar significance when she says:

Thus a symbol seems to me to owe its origin to the striving of a complex for dissolution in the common totality of thought. . . . The complex is thus robbed of its personal quality. . . . This tendency towards dissolution or transformation of every individual complex is the mainspring of poetry, painting, and every form of art.³⁰

202 If, for "complex," we substitute the idea of "energy value," i.e., the total affectivity of the complex, it is clear that Spielrein's views fall into line with my own.

203 It seems as if this process of analogy making had gradually altered and added to the common stock of ideas and names, with the result that man's picture of the world was considerably broadened. Specially colourful or intense contents (the "feeling toned" complexes) were reflected in countless analogies, and gave rise to synonyms whose objects were thus drawn into the magic circle of the psyche. In this way there came into being those intimate relationships by analogy which Lévy-Bruhl fittingly describes as "participation mystique." It is evident that this tendency to invent analogies deriving from feeling toned contents has been of enormous significance for the development of the human mind. We are in thorough agreement with Steinthal when he says that a positively overwhelming importance attaches to the little word "like" in the history of human thought. One can easily imagine that the canalization of libido into analogy making was responsible for some of the most important discoveries ever made by primitive man.

²⁹ Here I might also mention those American Indians who believe that the first human beings arose from the union of a sword hilt and a shuttle.

³⁰ Spielrein, p. 209.

III

THE TRANSFORMATION OF LIBIDO

201 In what follows I should like to give some concrete examples of this canalization of libido. I once had to treat a woman patient who suffered from catatonic depressions. As there was a mild degree of psychosis, I was not surprised by the numerous hysterical symptoms she exhibited. At the beginning of the treatment, while she was telling me of a very painful experience, she fell into an hysterical dream state in which she showed all the signs of sexual excitement. (It was abundantly evident that during this state she was completely unaware of my presence.) The excitement culminated in an act of masturbation. This act was accompanied by a singular gesture: she kept on making a violent rotary movement with the forefinger of the left hand against the left temple, as though she were boring a hole there. Afterwards there was complete amnesia for what had happened, and nothing could be elicited about the singular gesture with the hand. Although this performance could easily be recognized as an act of thumb-sucking, or of nose- or ear-picking, transferred to the temple, and hence as an analogy of the masturbatory act, it nevertheless struck me as somehow significant, though at first I did not know why. Weeks later I had an opportunity of speaking with the patient's mother, and she told me what a very exceptional child her daughter had been. When only two years old she would sit for hours with her back to an open cupboard door, rhythmically banging it shut with her head¹ and driving the whole household distracted. A little later, instead of playing like the other children, she began boring holes in the plaster of the wall with her finger. She did this with little turning and scraping movements, which she would

¹ I have seen this pendulum movement of the head in a catatonic patient, gradually building itself up from what Freud has termed the "upward displacement" of coitus movements.

keep up for hours on end. To her parents she was a complete mystery. From about her fourth year she began to masturbate. So it is clear that in the earlier infantile occupation we have the preliminary stage of the later activity.

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The boring with the finger, then, can be traced back to a very early stage of childhood which antedates the period of masturbation. That period is very obscure psychologically, because there were no individual memories. Such a peculiar mode of behaviour is highly remarkable in a child of that age. We know from her subsequent history that her development—which was, as always, bound up with parallel external events—led to a mental illness which is well known for the individuality and originality of its products, namely schizophrenia. The peculiarity of this disease lies in the startling emergence of an archaic psychology. That accounts for the innumerable points of contact with mythological material, and what we take to be original and individual creations are mostly products which can only be compared with those of antiquity. We have to apply this criterion to probably all the products of this remarkable illness, including perhaps this odd symptom of boring. As we have seen, it dates from a very early period, and it was revived from the distant past only when the patient, after several years of marriage, fell back into her early masturbatory habits following the death of her child, with whom she had identified herself through an over indulgent love. When the child died, the infantile symptoms again inflicted themselves on the still healthy mother in the form of fits of masturbation, accompanied by this same act of boring. The primary boring, as we have said, appeared some time before the infantile masturbation. This fact is important inasmuch as the boring is seen to be distinct from a similar and later habit which supervened after she began masturbating.

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We know that in infants the libido first manifests itself exclusively in the nutritional zone, where, in the act of sucking, food is taken in with a rhythmic movement. At the same time there develops in the motor sphere in general a pleasurable rhythmic movement of the arms and legs (kicking, etc.) With the growth of the individual and development of his organs the libido creates for itself new avenues of activity. The primary model of rhythmic movement, producing pleasure and satisfac-

tion, is transferred to the zone of other functions, with sexuality as its ultimate goal. This is not to say that the rhythmic activity derives from the act of nutrition. A considerable part of the energy supplied by nutrition for growth has to convert itself into sexual libido and other forms of activity. This transition does not take place suddenly at the time of puberty, as is commonly supposed, but only very gradually during the course of childhood. In this transitional period there are, so far as I am able to judge, two distinct phases: the phase of sucking, and the phase of rhythmic activity in general. Sucking still belongs to the sphere of the nutritive function, but outgrows it by ceasing to be a function of nutrition and becoming an analogous rhythmic activity without intake of nourishment. At this point the hand comes in as an auxiliary organ. It appears even more clearly as an auxiliary organ in the phase of rhythmic activity, which then leaves the oral zone and turns to other regions. Numerous possibilities now present themselves. As a rule, it is the other body openings that become the main object of interest; then the skin, or special parts of it; and finally rhythmic movements of all kinds. These, expressed in the form of rubbing, boring, picking, and so forth, follow a certain rhythm. It is clear that this activity, once it reaches the sexual zone, may provide occasion for the first attempts at masturbation. In the course of its migrations the libido carries traces of the nutritional phase into its new field of operations, which accounts for the many intimate connections between the nutritive and the sexual function. Should this more developed activity meet with an obstacle that forces it to regress, the regression will be to an earlier stage of development. The phase of rhythmic activity generally coincides with the development of mind and speech. I therefore propose to call the period from birth up to the time of the first clear manifestations of sexuality the "pre-sexual stage." As a rule it falls between the first and the fourth year, and is comparable to the chrysalis stage in butterflies. It is characterized by a varying mixture of elements from the nutritional and sexual phases. Certain regressions go right back to the presexual stage: so far as one can judge from experience, this seems to be the rule with regressions in schizophrenia and epilepsy. I will give two examples. One is the case of a young girl who developed a catatonic state during her engagement.

The first time she saw me she suddenly came up to me and gave me a kiss, saying, 'Papa, give me something to eat!' The other case concerns a young servant girl who complained that people were pursuing her with electricity, and that this caused a queer feeling in her genitals, 'as if it ate and drank down there'

These things show that the earlier phases of libido are capable of regressive reactivation. It is a road that is easily travelled, and has often been travelled in the past. If this assumption is correct, it is very likely that in earlier stages of human development this way of transformation was not just a pathological symptom, but a frequent and normal occurrence. It would therefore be interesting to see whether it has left any historical traces

We are indebted to Abraham² for drawing attention to the ethnological connection between boring and fire making. The latter subject has been elaborated in the work of Adalbert Kuhn.³ From these investigations we learn that the fire bringer Prometheus may possibly be brother to the Indian *pramantha*, the masculine fire stick. The Indian fire bringer was called Matarisvan, and the activity of fire-making is always referred to in the sacred texts by means of the verb *manthamī*,⁴ 'to shake, to rub, to bring forth by rubbing'. Kuhn relates this verb to Greek *μανθάνω*, 'to learn,' and has also explained the conceptual relationship between them.⁵ The *tertium comparationis* may lie in the rhythm, the movement to and fro in the mind. According to Kuhn, the root *manth* or *math* leads via *μανθάνω* (*μάθημα, μάθησις*) and *προ-μθεομαι*, to *Προμηθεύς*, the well known Greek fire robber. He points out that just as the Thiric Zeus bore the especially interesting cognomen *Προ-μαρθεύς*, so *Προ μθεύς* might be not an original Indo European word related to the Skr *pramantha*, but only a cognomen. This view is supported by a gloss of Hesychius, explaining the name *Ιθας* as *δ τῶν Τιτάνων κήρυξ Προμηθεύς* (Prometheus, the herald of the titans). Another gloss of Hesychius explains *Ιθαλνομαι* (*λαίρω*, to heat, melt) as *θερμαίνομαι*,

² *Dreams and Myths*

³ *Mythologische Studien I Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks* (Cf. pl. xv). A résumé of the contents is to be found in Steinthal "Die ursprüngliche Form der Sage von Prometheus" and in Abraham *Dreams and Myths*

⁴ Also *mathnamī* and *mālhayati*. The root is *manth* or *math*

⁵ Kuhn in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, II p. 395 and IV, p. 124

'to grow hot,' so that 'Ιθάς acquires the meaning 'Flaming One,' similar to Αἶθων or Φλεγύας.⁶ The relation of Prometheus to *pramantha* is therefore questionable. On the other hand, Προμηθεύς is highly significant as a cognomen for 'Ιθάς, since the "Flaming One" is the "Forethinker."⁷ (*Pramati*, 'precaution,' is also an attribute of Agni, the god of fire, although *pramati* is of different derivation.) Prometheus, however, belongs to the line of Phlegians whom Kuhn puts into incontestable relationship with the Indian priestly family of Bhrigu.⁸ The Bhrigu, like Matarisvan ("he who swells in the mother"), were also fire-bringers. Kuhn cites a passage to show that the Bhrigu arose from the fire like Agni. ("Bhrigu arose in the flame; Bhrigu roasted, but did not burn.") This idea leads to a root cognate with Bhrigu: Skr. *bhrūy*, 'to shine,' Lat. *fulgeo*, Gr. φλέγω (Skr. *bhargas*, 'splendour,' Lat. *fulgur*). Bhrigu therefore appears as the "Shining One." Φλεγύας denotes a certain species of eagle distinguished for its burnished yellow colour. The connection with φλέγειν, 'to burn,' is obvious. Hence the Phlegians were fiery eagles.⁹ Prometheus, too, was a Phlegian. The line from *pramantha* to Prometheus does not go via the word, but more probably through the idea or image, so that Prometheus may in the end have the same meaning as *pramantha*.¹⁰ Only, it would

⁶ K. Bapp. In Roscher, *Lexikon*, III, 3034

⁷ ["The one who thinks ahead" is the meaning of Prometheus now accepted as philologically correct—Editors] An interesting parallel is the Balinese fire god, who has his seat in man's brain and is always represented as dancing on a fiery wheel (a sun symbol) He is regarded as the highest and most popular god of the Balinese. (Pl. XIII)

⁸ *Bhrigu* = φλέγω, an accepted phonetic equivalence. See Roscher, III, 3031, 51

⁹ For the eagle as a fire totem among the Indians, see Roscher, III, 3031, 60

¹⁰ According to Kuhn the root *manth* becomes in German *mangeln* (Eng. 'to mangle') *Manthara* is the stick used for churning butter. (Cf. pl. xv) When the gods produced the *amrita* (drink of immortality ambrosia) by churning the ocean round, they used Mt. Mandara as a churning stick (Kuhn, *Mythologische Studien*, I, pp. 16ff) Steinthal calls attention to Lat. *mentula*, a poetic expression for the male organ, presumably derived from *ment* or *manth*. I would add that *mentula* can be taken as a diminutive of *menta* or *mentha* (μινθα), 'mint.' In antiquity mint was called "Aphrodite's crown" (Dioscorides, II, 154) Apuleius calls it "mentha venerca," because it was held to be an aphrodisiac. Hippocrates ("On Diet," II, 54) gives it the opposite meaning: "Si quis eam saepe comedit, eius genitale semen ita collinquescit, ut effluat, et arrigere prohibet et corpus Imbecillum reddit" (If one eats of it often, the genital seed becomes so liquid that it flows out, it prevents erection and renders the body weak), and accord-

be an *archetypal* parallel and not a case of linguistic transmission

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For some time it was believed that Prometheus took over the meaning 'Forethinker' (as the figure of Epimetheus, the 'After thinker,' testifies) only quite late, and that the word was originally connected with *pramantha*, *mantham*, *mathayati* and *matha*, etymologically, nothing to do with *προμηθεωμαι*, *μαθημα*, *μαθησθαι*. Conversely, *pramati*, precaution, which is associated with Agni, has no connection with *mantham*. Lately, however, there has been a tendency to derive Prometheus from *μαθησθαι* after all.¹¹ The only thing that can be established with any certainty in this complicated situation is that we find thinking, precaution, or foresight somehow connected with fire boring, without there being any demonstrable etymological connections between the words used for them. In considering the etymology, therefore, we have to take into account not only the migration of the root words but the autochthonous revival of certain primordial images.

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The *pramantha*, or instrument of the *manthana* (fire sacrifice), is conceived under a purely sexual aspect in India: the fire stick being the phallus or man, and the bored wood underneath the vulva or woman. The fire that results from the boring is the child, the divine son Agni (PI 111b). The two pieces of wood are ritually known as *pururavas* and *urvasi*, and, when personified, are thought of as man and woman. The fire is born¹² from the genitals of the woman. Weber gives the following account of the fire producing ceremony

ing to Dioscorides (III 34) mint is a contraceptive (cf. Argemont Folkserotik I p. 127). But the ancients also said "Menta autem appellata quod suo odore mentem feriat" (It is called *menta* because it strikes the mind [mentem] with its smell). The smell of the mint excites the mind. This leads us to the root *ment* as in *mens* (mind) so that the development of the parallel to *pramantha* would be complete. One might also add that a strong chin was called *mento* or *mentum*. As we know the priapic figure of Pulcinella was given a powerfully developed chin and the pointed beards (and ears) of the satyrs and other priapic demons have a similar meaning just as in general all the protruding parts of the body can be given a masculine and all its concavities a feminine significance.

¹¹ Cf. Kerényi, *Prometheus* p. 36.

¹² What is named the *gulya* (*puendum*) means the *yoni* (the birthplace) of the god: the fire that is born there is called beneficent." *Kathayanas Karmapradīpa* I 7 (Kuhn *Mythol. Studien* I p. 67). Kuhn's suggestion of an etymological con-

A sacrificial fire is kindled by rubbing two fire-sticks together. One of the fire-sticks is taken up with the words: "Thou art the birth-place of fire," and two blades of grass are placed upon it: "Ye are the two testicles" The priest then places on them the *adhararani* (the underlying piece of wood), saying: "Thou art Urvasi," and anoints the *uttarani* (uppermost piece) with butter: "Thou art the power" (semen). This is then placed on the *adhararani*, with the words: "Thou art Pururavas." Rubbing them together three times the priest says: "I rub thee with the Gayatrimetrum: I rub thee with the Trishtubhmetrum: I rub thee with the Jagatimetrum."¹³

- ²¹¹ The sexual symbolism is unmistakable. We find the same idea and symbolism in a hymn of the Rig-Veda:

Here is the gear for friction, here tinder is made ready for the spark.
Bring the mistress of the people:¹⁴ we will rub Agni in ancient fashion forth.

In the two fire sticks lies Jatavedas, safe as the seed in pregnant women;

Daily let Agni be praised by men who watch and worship with oblations.

Let this (staff) enter into her as she lies there outstretched, O you skilled ones;

Straightway she conceives, has given birth to the fructifier:

With his red pillar lighting his path, the son of Ila is born from the precious wood.¹⁵

- ²¹² It is to be noted that in this hymn the *pramantha* is also Agni, the begotten son: the phallus is the son, or the son is the phallus. In colloquial German today there are distant echoes of

nection between G. *bohren*, 'to bore,' and *geboren*, 'born,' is very unlikely. According to him, G. *boron* (*bohren*) is primarily related to Lat. *forare* and Gr. *φορέω*, 'to plough.' He conjectures an Indo-European root **bher*, meaning 'to bear.' Skr. *bhar*, Gr. *φορ*, Lat. *fer*, whence OHG. *beran*, 'to bear'; Lat. *fero*, *fertilis*, and *fordus*, 'pregnant', Gr. *φορῶν*, 'pregnant'. Walde, in *Lateinisches Wörterbuch* (s.v. *ferio*), however, definitely relates *forare* to the root *bher*. Cf. the plough symbolism, below, par. 214, n. 22, and fig. 15.

¹³ Weber, *Indische Studien*, I, p. 197, cited in Kuhn, p. 71.

¹⁴ Or of mankind in general. *Vispatni* is the feminine fire-stick; *vispati*, an attribute of Agni, the masculine.

¹⁵ Rig Veda, III, 29 1-3 trans. based on Griffith, II, p. 25. For wood as a mother symbol, see Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, p. 355 "The son of Ila". Ila was the daughter of Manu, the Indian Noah, who with the help of his fish survived the deluge and then begat a new race of human beings with his daughter.

this primitive symbolism a lout or urchin is known as a *Bengel*, 'club, cudgel' and in the Hessian dialect as a *Stift*, peg or *Bolzen*, bolt.¹⁶ The plant *Artemisia abrotanum*, called in German *Stabwurz*, stick root,¹⁷ is known in English as boy's love. The vulgar designation of the penis as 'boy' was remarked even by the brothers Grimm. Ceremonial fire making lingered on in Europe as a superstitious custom until well into the nineteenth century. Kuhn mentions one such case which occurred in Germany in 1828. This magical rite, practised with due ceremony, was called the "Nodfyr (need fire)"¹⁸ and the charm was used mainly against cattle epidemics. Kuhn quotes from the *Chronicles of Lanercost*, in the year 1268, a particularly interesting case of 'Nodfyr' which plainly reveals the sexual symbolism of the ceremonies.

In order to safeguard the integrity of divine faith let the reader remember that when the herds of cattle in Laodonia were ravaged this year by the pest called lung-sickness certain cattle breeders monastery folk by habit or dress but not by disposition taught the ignorant rustics to make fire by rubbing pieces of wood together, and to set up an image of Priapus and in this wise to help their animals. After a Cistercian lay brother had done this near Fenton in front of the courtyard he dipped the testicles of a dog in holy water and sprinkled the animals with it.¹⁹

213 These examples, coming from different periods of history and from different peoples prove the existence of a widespread tendency to equate fire making with sexuality. The ceremonial or magical repetition of this age old discovery shows how persistently the human mind clings to the old forms, and how deep-rooted is the memory of fire-boring. One might be inclined to

¹⁶ Cf. Hirt *Etymologie* p. 348.

¹⁷ The capitulary of Charlemagne in 942 expressly forbids "illos sacrilegos ignes quos nodfyr vocant (those sacrilegious fires which are called Nodfyr). Cf. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* II p. 601 where similar fire ceremonies are described.

¹⁸ *Mythologische Studien* I p. 43 (Pro fidei divinae integritate servanda recolat lector quod cum hoc anno in Laodonia pestis grassaretur in pecudes armenti quam vocant usitate Lungessouth quidam bestiales habitu claustrales non animo docebant idiotas patriae ignem confrictione de lignis educere et simulacrum Priapi statuere et per haec bestias succurrere. Quod cum unus laicus Cisterciensis apud Fentone fecisset ante atrium aulae ac intinctis testiculis canis in aquam benedictam super animalia sparsisset.)

see the sexual symbolism of fire making simply as a gratuitous addition to priestly lore. That may be true of certain ritualistic elaborations of the fire mystery, but the question remains whether fire making originally had a deeper connection with sex. We know that similar rites are practised among primitives from studies of the Wachandi, of Australia,¹⁹ who in spring perform the following piece of fertility-magic: They dig a hole in the ground, so shaping it and setting it about with bushes that it looks like a woman's genitals. Then they dance round this hole all night, holding their spears in front of them in imitation of an erect penis. As they dance round, they thrust their spears into the hole, shouting: "Pulli nira, pulli nira, watakal" (Not a pit, not a pit, but a c——). Obscene dances of this kind are found among other tribes as well.²⁰

²¹ In this rite of spring²¹ there is enacted a sacramental mating, with the hole in the earth representing the woman, and the

¹⁹ Preuss, 'Der Ursprung der Religion und Kunst,' p. 358

²⁰ Cf. Schultze, *Psychologie der Naturvölker*, pp. 161f

²¹ This primitive play leads to the phallic plough symbolism of higher cultures. 'Apo-' means 'to plough' and possesses in addition the poetic meaning of 'to impregnate'. The Latin *arare* means simply 'to plough,' but the phrase 'fundum alienum arare' is the equivalent of 'plucking cherries in your neighbour's garden'. There is an excellent picture of the phallic plough on a vase in [or once in] the Museo Archeologico in Florence: it portrays a row of six naked ithyphallic men carrying a plough which is represented ithyphallically (fig. 15). (Cf. Dieterich *Mutter Erde*, pp. 107ff.) The 'carrus navalis' (Carnival) of our spring festivals during the Middle Ages was occasionally a plough (Hahn, *Demeter und Baubo*, p. 40, cited in Dieterich, p. 109). Prof. Emil Abegg, of Zurich, has drawn my attention to the work of Meringer, 'Wörter und Sachen' which demonstrates a far reaching fusion of libido-symbols with external materials and external activities and lends the strongest support to the views I have outlined above. Meringer bases his argument on two Indo-European roots: *uen and *ueneti. IEur. *uen, OInd. *vān*, *vāna*, = 'wood'. Agni is called *garbhas vanam*, 'fruit of the womb of the woods'. IEur. *ueneti = 'he ploughs' (er ackert)—piercing the ground and tearing it up with a sharp piece of wood. The verb itself is not verified because the primitive method of agriculture it denoted—a sort of hoeing—died out at a very early date. When a better method of tillage was discovered, the designation for the primitive ploughed field was transferred to pastureland and meadows, hence Goth. *vinja*, Gr. *ποιμή*, OIce. *vin*, 'pasture, meadow'. Also perhaps the Icel. *l'anen*, gods of agriculture. Also IEur. *uenos, 'enjoyment of love', Lat. *Venus*. From the emotional significance of *uenos comes OHC. *vinnan*, 'to rage', also Goth. *rens*, Gr. *ἄρις*, OHC. *uān*, 'expectation, hope', Skt. *īan*, 'to want, desire', G. *Bonne*, 'ecstasy', OIce. *vinr*, 'beloved, friend'. From the connotation *ackern* arose G. *wohnen*, 'to dwell', OE. *uon*, 'dwelling' a transition found

spear the man. The *hieros gamos* was an essential component of many cults and played an important part in various sects.²²

One can easily imagine that just as the Australian bushmen perform a sort of *hieros gamos* with the earth, so the same or a similar idea could be represented by producing fire from two pieces of wood. The ritual coitus is enacted, not by two people, but by two simulacra, Pururavas and Urvashi, the male and female fire sticks (Cf pl xiii)



Fig 15 The phallic plough
From a Greek vase

216 Of all the components of the psyche, sex is undoubtedly the one with the strongest affective tone. Certain persons are therefore inclined to assume that everything which bears an obvious analogy to sex must of necessity be derived from it, on the

only in the Germanic languages. From *uohnen* comes *gewohnen* to get accustomed to be wont. Olcel *tant* accustomed. From *ackern* again comes *stech* *mühen plagen* to take trouble or pains. Olcel *winna* to work. OHG *winnan* to toil or drudge. Goth *winan* Gr *πάσχω* to suffer. *winns* *πάσχω* suffer. OHG *gewinnan* but also *verletzen* to wound. Goth *vunds* Wound in the original sense therefore meant the ground torn up by hoeing. From *verletzen* come *schlagen* to strike *besiegen*, to conquer. OHG *winna* strife, Old Saxon *winnan* to battle (Fig 16).

22 The old custom of the bridal bed in the field to make the field fruitful expresses the analogy in the clearest possible way as I make this woman fruitful so I make the earth fruitful. The symbol canalizes the libido into cultivating and fruitifying the earth (Cf pl xiv). Cf Mannhardt *Wald und Feldkulte*, I, for exhaustive evidence.

hypothesis that the sexual libido comes up against some sort of barrier which compels it to seek a substitute activity in the form of a ritual analogy. In order to account for the partial conversion and transformation of libido, Freud assumed that the barrier was the *incest-taboo*. Strictly speaking, however, the incest-taboo is a check on the endogamous tendency in man. For an instinct to be forcibly converted into something else, or even partially checked, there must be a correspondingly higher energy on the opposite side. Freud rightly supposed that this

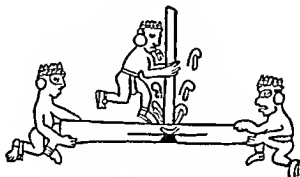


Fig 16 The twirling stick
From an Aztec hieroglyph painting

energy came from *fear*, and in order to explain the fear, he had to resort to the more or less plausible hypothesis of the primal horde, which, like a herd of gorillas, was tyrannized over by a ferocious patriarch. To complete the picture, we would have to add an equally awe-inspiring matron who instils fear into the daughters, just as the primordial father compels the savage respect of the sons. We would then have a patrilineal and a matrilineal source of anxiety to match the primitive conditions. I can well imagine that the more neurotic among the troglodytes "thought" in this manner.

²¹⁷ Such a derivation of the motive for checking the instincts seems to me somewhat doubtful, to say the least of it, for the simple reason that the tensions inside a primitive group are never greater than those involved in the struggle for existence of the group as a whole. Were it otherwise, the group would speedily perish. What does constitute a serious threat to the primitive group is the endogamous tendency, which has to be checked in order to exorcize the danger. The best means to this end seems to be the widespread custom of cross-cousin-mar-

riage,²³ because it keeps the endogamous and exogamous tendencies balanced. The danger that then threatens the group comes from the very advantages it has gained through checking the endogamous tendency to which the incest-taboo applies. The group acquires an inner stability, opportunities for expansion, and hence greater security. That is to say, the source of fear does not lie inside the group, but in the very real risks which the struggle for existence entails. Fear of enemies and of hunger predominates even over sexuality, which is, as we know, no problem at all for the primitive, as it is far simpler to get a woman than it is to get food. Fear of the consequences of being unadapted is a compelling reason for checking the instincts. Confronted with disaster, one is obliged to ask oneself how it is to be remedied. The libido that is forced into regression by the obstacle always reverts to the possibilities lying dormant in the individual. A dog, finding the door shut, scratches at it until it is opened, and a man unable to find the answer to a problem rubs his nose, pulls his lower lip, scratches his ear, and so on. If he gets impatient, all sorts of other rhythms appear: he starts drumming with his fingers, shuffles his feet about, and it will not be long before certain distinctly sexual analogies manifest themselves, such as masturbation gestures. Koch-Grunberg, writing on South American rock-paintings, tells us how the Indians sit on the rocks and scratch lines on them with sharp stones while waiting for their canoes to be transported round the rapids.²⁴ In the course of time there have arisen chaotic drawings or scribbles that might perhaps be compared with doodling on blotting-pads. This makes it easier to understand what Maeterlinck tells us in his *Blue Bird*.²⁵ The two children who are looking for the blue bird in the Land of the Unborn find a boy who picks his nose. It is said that one day he will discover a new fire when the earth has grown cold. Spielrein's patient²⁶ associated the act of boring with fire and procreation. She said: "You need iron to bore through the earth. With iron you can make cold people out of stone. With a hot iron you can bore through the mountain. The iron becomes red hot when it is pushed into a stone."

²³ Cf. "The Psychology of the Transference," para. 435ff.

²⁴ *Südamerikanische Felszeichnungen*, p. 17.

²⁵ Teixeira de Mattos trans., p. 100. ²⁶ P. 371.

218 Now when the libido is forced back by an obstacle, it does not necessarily regress to earlier sexual modes of application, but rather to the rhythmic activities of infancy which serve as a model both for the act of nutrition and for the sexual act itself. The material before us does not seem to preclude the possibility that the invention of fire-making came about in the manner suggested, that is, through the regressive reawakening of rhythm.²⁷ This hypothesis seems to me psychologically possible, though I would not maintain that this is the only way in which the discovery of fire could have been made. It could just as well have been made from striking flints together. All I am concerned with here is the psychological process, whose symbolisms suggest that fire-making may possibly have been discovered in this way.

219 Even if these rhythmic activities give one the impression of a game, one is nevertheless impressed by the intentness and energy with which this alleged game is conducted. It is well known that such rites (for that is how we must regard them) are performed with great seriousness and an uncommon display of energy, which is in marked contrast to the notorious laziness of primitive man. The so called game takes on the character of purposeful effort. If certain tribes can dance all night long to a monotonous tune of three notes, then, to our way of thinking, the play-element is entirely lacking: it is more like an exercise with a set purpose. This is in fact the case, for rhythm is a classic device for impressing certain ideas or activities on the mind, and what has to be impressed and firmly organized is the canalization of libido into a new form of activity. Since the rhythmic activity can no longer find an outlet in the act of feeding after the nutritional phase of development is over, it transfers itself not only to the sphere of sexuality in the strict sense, but also to the "decoy mechanisms," such as music and dancing, and finally to the sphere of work. The close connection which work always has with music, singing, dancing, drumming, and all manner of rhythms in primitive societies, indeed its absolute dependence on these things, is very striking. This connection forms the bridge to sexuality, thus giving the primitive an opportunity to sidetrack and evade the task in hand. Because diversions of this kind are a frequent occurrence, and are to be

²⁷ For evidence of this, see Bücher, *Arbeit und Rhythmus*

found in all spheres of culture, people have been led to believe that there is no differentiated achievement that is not a substitute for some form of sexuality. I regard this as an error, albeit a very understandable one considering the enormous psychological importance of the sexual instinct. I myself once held similar views, at least in so far as I assumed that the various forms of attraction and protection of the young came from the splitting and differentiation of an originally sexual libido, or of the reproductive instinct in its widest sense, and were therefore the preliminary stages of all cultural activities, so far as these are by nature instinctive. One reason for this error was the influence of Freud; the other, and more cogent, reason was the element of rhythm which often attaches to these functions. Only later did I realize that the rhythmic tendency does not come from the nutritional phase at all, as if it had migrated from there to the sexual, but that it is a peculiarity of emotional processes in general. Any kind of excitement, no matter in what phase of life, displays a tendency to rhythmic expression, perseveration, and repetition, as can easily be seen from the repetition, assonance, and alliteration of complex toned reaction-words in the association experiment.²⁸ Rhythmic patterns therefore offer no ground for assuming that the function they affect originated in sexuality.

²²⁰ The psychological importance of sexuality and the existence of plausible sexual analogies make a deviation into sex extremely easy in cases of regression, so that it naturally seems as if all one's troubles were due to a sexual wish that is unjustly denied fulfilment. This reasoning is typical of the neurotic. Primitives seem to know instinctively the dangers of this deviation: when celebrating the *hieros gamos*, the Wachandi, of Australia, may not look at a woman during the entire ceremony. Among a certain tribe of American Indians, it was the custom for the warriors, before setting out on the warpath, to move in a circle round a beautiful young girl standing naked in the centre. Whoever got an erection was disqualified as unfit for military operations. The deviation into sex is used—not always, but very frequently—as a means of escaping the real problem. One makes oneself and others believe that the problem is purely

²⁸ Eberschweiler, "Untersuchungen über die sprachlichen Komponenten der Assoziation."

sexual, that the trouble started long ago and that its causes lie in the remote past. This provides a heaven sent way out of the problem of the present by shifting the whole question on to another and less dangerous plane. But the illicit gain is purchased at the expense of adaptation, and one gets a neurosis into the bargain.

21 In an earlier paragraph we traced the checking of the instincts back to fear of the very real dangers of existence in this world. But external reality is not the only source of this instinct inhibiting fear, for primitive man is often very much more afraid of an "inner" reality—the world of dreams, ancestral spirits, demons, gods, magicians, and witches. Although we, with our rationalism, think we can block this source of fear by pointing to its unreality, it nevertheless remains one of those psychic realities whose irrational nature cannot be exorcized by rational argument. You can free the primitive of certain superstitions, but you cannot talk him out of his alcoholism, his moral depravity, and general hopelessness. There is a psychic reality which is just as pitiless and just as inexorable as the outer world, and just as useful and helpful, provided one knows how to circumvent its dangers and discover its hidden treasures. "Magic is the science of the jungle," a famous explorer once said. Civilized man contemptuously looks down on primitive superstitions, which is about as sensible as turning up one's nose at the pikes and halberds, the fortresses and tall spired cathedrals of the Middle Ages. Primitive methods are just as effective under primitive conditions as machine-guns or the radio are under modern conditions. Our religions and political ideologies are methods of salvation and propitiation which can be compared with primitive ideas of magic, and where such "collective representations" are lacking their place is immediately taken by all sorts of private idiocies and idiosyncrasies, manias phobias, and daemonisms whose primitivity leaves nothing to be desired, not to speak of the psychic epidemics of our time before which the witch hunts of the sixteenth century pale by comparison.

22 Notwithstanding our rationalistic attempts to argue it out of existence, psychic reality is and remains a genuine source of anxiety whose danger increases the more it is denied. The biological instincts then meet not only with outer obstacles but

with an internal resistance. The same psychic system which, on one side, is based on the concupiscence of the instincts, rests on the other side on an opposing will which is at least as strong as the biological urge.

123 Except when motivated by external necessity, the will to suppress or repress the natural instincts, or rather to overcome their predominance (*superbia*) and lack of co-ordination (*concupiscentia*), derives from a spiritual source, in other words the determining factor is the numinous primordial images. These images, ideas, beliefs, or ideals operate through the specific energy of the individual, which he cannot always utilize at will for this purpose, but which seems rather to be drawn out of him by the images. Even the authority of the father is seldom powerful enough to keep the spirit of the sons in permanent subjection. This can only happen when the father appeals to or expresses an image which, in the eyes of humanity, is numinous, or at any rate backed up by the consensus of opinion. The suggestive power of the environment is itself a consequence of the numinosity of the image and intensifies it in turn. If there is no such suggestion the collective effect of the image will be negligible, or non-existent, even though it may be extremely intense as an individual experience. I mention this circumstance because it is a controversial point whether the inner images or collective representations are merely suggested by the environment, or whether they are genuine and spontaneous experiences. The first view simply begs the question because it is obvious that the content suggested must have come into existence somehow and at some time. There was a time when the utterances of mythology were entirely original when they were numinous experiences, and anyone who takes the trouble can observe these subjective experiences even today. I have already given one example²⁹ of a mythological statement (the solar phallus) coming alive again under circumstances which rule out any possibility of direct transmission. The patient was a small business employee with no more than a secondary school education. He grew up in Zurich, and by no stretch of imagination can I conceive how he could have got hold of the idea of the solar phallus of the vision moving to and fro, and of the origin of the wind. I myself, who would

²⁹ [See pp. 100ff. above.]

have been in a much better position, intellectually, to know about this singular concatenation of ideas, was entirely ignorant of it and only discovered the parallel in a book of Dieterich's which appeared in 1910, four years after my original observation (1906).³⁰

224 This observation was not an isolated case: it was manifestly not a question of inherited ideas, but of an inborn disposition to produce parallel thought-formations, or rather of identical psychic structures common to all men, which I later called the archetypes of the collective unconscious. They correspond to the concept of the "pattern of behaviour" in biology.³¹

225 The archetype, as a glance at the history of religious phenomena will show, has a characteristically numinous effect, so that the subject is gripped by it as though by an instinct. What is more, instinct itself can be restrained and even overcome by this power, a fact for which there is no need to advance proofs.

226 Whenever an instinct is checked or inhibited, it gets blocked and regresses. Or, to be more precise: if there is an inhibition of sexuality, a regression will eventually occur in which the sexual energy flowing back from this sphere activates a function in some other sphere. In this way the energy changes its form. Let us take as an example the Wachandi ceremony: in all probability the hole in the earth is an analogy of the mother's genitals, for when a man is forbidden to look at a woman, his Eros reverts to the mother. But as incest has to be avoided at all costs, the hole in the earth acts as a kind of mother-substitute. Thus, by means of ceremonial exercise, the incestuous energy-component becomes as it were desexualized, is led back to an infantile level where, if the operation is successful, it attains another form, which is equivalent to another function. It is to be assumed, however, that the operation is accomplished only with difficulty, for the primary instinct is composed of an endogamous ("incestuous") tendency and an exogamous one, and must therefore be split into two. This splitting is connected with consciousness and the process of becoming conscious. The regression is always attended by certain difficulties because the energy clings with specific force to its object, and on being

³⁰ Further details of this case in "The Concept of the Collective Unconscious," para. 101ff.

³¹ [Cf. "On the Nature of the Psyche," para. 397ff.—EDITORS]

changed from one form carries something of its previous character into the next form.³² So although the resultant phenomena have the character of a sexual act, it is not a sexual act any longer. In the same way fire-boring is only an analogy of the sexual act, just as the latter often has to serve as a linguistic analogy for all sorts of other activities. The presexual, early infantile stage to which the libido reverts is characterized by numerous possibilities of application, because, once the libido has arrived there, it is restored to its original undifferentiated polyvalency. It is therefore understandable that the libido which regressively "invests" this stage sees itself confronted with a variety of possible applications. Since, in the Wachandi ceremony, the libido is bound to its object—sexuality—it will carry at least part of this function into the new form as an essential characteristic. The result is that an analogous object is "invested" and takes the place of the one thrust into the background. The ideal example of such an object is the nurturing earth-mother. (Pl. xiv; cf. also fig. 1.) The psychology of the presexual stage accounts for her nourishing character, and sexuality for her most typical form of worship, the *hieros gamos*. From this arise the age-old symbols of agriculture. In the work of tilling and sowing the fields hunger and incest intermingle. The ancient cults of Mother Earth saw in this the fertilization of the mother. But the aim of the action is to bring forth the fruits of the field, and it is magical rather than sexual. Here the regression leads to a reactivation of the mother as the goal of desire, this time as a symbol not of sex but of the giver of nourishment.

- ³² It is just possible that we owe the discovery of fire to some such regression to the presexual stage, where the model of rhythmic activity can co-operate effectively. The libido, forced into regression by the checking of instinct, reactivates the infantile boring and provides it with objective material to work on—fittingly called "material" because the object at this stage is the mother (*mater*). As I have pointed out above, the act of boring requires only the strength and perseverance of an adult man and suitable "material" in order to generate fire. Consequently,

³² Known as the "factor of extensity" in the older physics. Cf. von Hartmann, *Die Weltanschauung der modernen Physik*, p. 5

the production of fire may have originally occurred as the objective expression of a quasi-masturbatory activity analogous to the aforementioned case of masturbatory boring. Though we can never hope to advance any real proof of our contention, it is at least thinkable that some traces of these first exercises in fire-making may have been preserved. I have succeeded in finding a passage in a monument of Indian literature which describes this conversion of libido into fire-making. It occurs in the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad: ³³

He (*Atman* ³⁴) was as big as a man and woman joined together; he divided himself into two, and thus husband and wife were born. . . .³⁵ He joined himself to her, and thus men were born.

She thought: "How should he lie with me after having produced me? I will hide myself." She became a cow, he became a bull; they joined and cattle were born. She became a mare, he a stallion; she became a she-ass, he an ass; they joined and the hoofed animals were born. She became a she-goat, he a goat; she became a ewe, he a ram; they joined and goats and sheep were born. Thus he created everything down to the ants, male and female. . . .

Then he knew: "I am this creation, for I produced it all from myself." Such was creation. He who possesses this knowledge creates his own being in that creation.

Thereupon he rubbed thus [holding his hands before his mouth]. From his mouth, the fire hole (*yoni*), and from his hands, he brought forth fire.³⁶

³³ The Upanishads expound the theology of the Vedic writings and contain the speculative, theosophical part of the teachings. The Vedic writings are mostly of very uncertain age, and since for a long time they were handed down only orally, they may date back to the very remote past.

³⁴ The primordial universal being, a concept which in psychological terms coincides with that of the libido.

³⁵ The *atman* is thus thought of as originally bisexual or hermaphroditic. The world was created by desire cf. *Brih Up.* 1, 4, 1-3. "In the beginning this world was Self alone in the form of a Person (*purusha*). He looked round and saw nothing but himself. . . . He became afraid, therefore one who is alone is afraid. He thought 'Why should I be afraid, since there is nothing but myself? . . .'. He had no joy, therefore one who is alone has no joy. He desired a second." Then follows the description of his division into two, quoted above. Plato's idea of the world soul comes very close to this Indian image. "It had no need of eyes, for there was nothing outside it to be seen, nor of ears, for there was nothing outside it to be heard. . . . Nothing went out from or came into it anywhere, for there was nothing" (*Timaeus*, 33, trans. based on Cornford, p. 35).

³⁶ *Brih. Up.* 1, 4, 5-6, trans. based on Hume, pp. 81-82.

I once observed a year-old baby making a very peculiar gesture: it held one hand before its mouth and kept rubbing it with the other. It lost this habit after some months. Such cases show that there is some justification for interpreting a mythologem like the above as being based on a very early infantile gesture.

The baby's gesture is interesting in another respect, too: it lays emphasis on the mouth, which at this early age still has an exclusively nutritive significance. The pleasure and satisfaction it finds in feeding is localized in the mouth, but to interpret this pleasure as sexual is quite unjustified. Feeding is a genuine activity, satisfying in itself, and because it is a vital necessity nature has here put a premium on pleasure. The mouth soon begins to develop another significance as the organ of speech. The extreme importance of speech doubles the significance of the mouth in small children. The rhythmic activities it carries out express a concentration of emotional forces, i.e., of libido, at this point. Thus the mouth (and to a lesser degree the anus) becomes the prime place of origin. According to the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, the most important discovery ever made by primitive man, the discovery of fire, came out of the mouth. As we might expect, there are texts which draw a parallel between fire and speech. The Aitareya Upanishad says:

Then he drew forth a Person (*purusha*) from the waters and shaped him. He brooded upon him, and when he had brooded him forth, a mouth split open like an egg. From the mouth came speech, and from speech fire.³⁷ [Cf. pl. xivb.]

Here, then, speech becomes fire, but a little later on (2, 4) we are told that fire becomes speech. There is a similar connection between the two in Brihadaranyaka Upanishad.

"Yajñavalkya, what is the light of man?"

"The sun is his light," he answered. "It is by the light of the sun that a man rests, goes forth, does his work and returns."

"Quite so, Yajñavalkya. But when the sun is set, what then is the light of man?"

"The moon is his light," he answered. "It is by the light of the moon that a man rests, goes forth, does his work and returns."

"Quite so, Yajñavalkya. But when the sun is set, and the moon is set, what then is the light of man?"

"Fire is his light," he answered. "It is by the light of the fire that a man rests, goes forth, does his work and returns."

"Quite so, Yajñavalkya. But when the sun is set, and the moon is set, and the fire has gone out, what then is the light of man?"

"Speech is his light," he answered. "It is by the light of speech that a man rests, goes forth, does his work and returns."

"Quite so, Yajñavalkya. But when the sun is set, and the moon is set, and the fire has gone out, and speech is hushed, what then is the light of man?"

"Self is his light," he answered. "It is by the light of the Self that a man rests, goes forth, does his work and returns."³⁸

²³¹ This association of mouth, fire, and speech is not as strange as it would seem: we speak of a man being "fired" or "inflamed" by another's words, of a "fiery" speech, "burning words," etc. In the language of the Old Testament mouth and fire are frequently connected, as in II Samuel 22:9: "There went up a smoke out of his nostrils, and fire out of his mouth. . . ." Isaiah 30:27: "The name of the Lord cometh from afar, burning with his anger . . . his lips are full of indignation, and his tongue as a devouring fire." Psalm 29:7 (RV): "The voice of the Lord scattereth flames of fire." Jeremiah 23:29: "Is not my word like as a fire?" And in Revelation 11:5 fire proceeds out of the mouth of the two prophetic witnesses.

²³² Again and again fire is called "devouring," "consuming," a reminder of the function of the mouth, as in Ezekiel 15:4: "It is cast into the fire for fuel; the fire devoureth both the ends of it, and the midst of it is burned." Deuteronomy 4:24: "For the Lord thy God is a consuming fire, even a jealous God." Perhaps the best-known example is Acts 2:3-4: "And there appeared unto them cloven tongues [γλῶσσαι] like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues [γλῶσσαις], as the Spirit gave them utterance." The γλῶσσα of the fire caused the glossolalia of the apostles. In a negative sense the Epistle of James 3:6 says: "And the tongue is a fire, a world of iniquity: so is the tongue among our members, that it defileth the whole body, and setteth on fire the course of nature, and it is set on

³⁸ Trans. based on Hume, p. 133

fire of hell Proverbs 16 27 says like is An ungodly man diggeth up evil and in his lips there is as a burning fire The dragons or horses of the Apocalypse (Rev 9 17) breathe forth fire and smoke and brimstone and as for Leviathan (Job 41 19f) Out of his mouth go burning lamps and sparks of fire leap out.

The connection of the mouth with fire and speech is in dubitable Another fact to be considered is that the etymological dictionaries connect the Indo-European root *bha with the idea of bright shining This root is found in Gr φάω φαίρω φάος in OIr ban white and in the G bohnen to polish make shining But the homonymous root *bha also signifies speaking it is found in Skr bhan to speak in Armen ban word in G Bann, bannen to ban put a spell on in Gr φαμι ἔφαν φάτις Lat fa ri fatum

The root la to sound to bark occurs in Skr las lasati to resound reverberate and in las lasati to radiate shine

A similar archaic fusion of meanings occurs in a certain class of Egyptian words derived from the cognate roots ben and bel duplicated into benben and belbel The original meaning of these words was to burst forth emerge swell well out with the associated idea of bubbling boiling roundness Belbel accompanied by the obelisk sign meant a source of light The obelisk itself had several names teshenu men benben and more rarely berber and belbel²⁹ The Indo-European root *vel meaning to wave about like fire occurs in Skr ulunka blaze Gr φαλακ Att ἀλέα warmth of the sun Goth vulan undulate OHG and MHG walm warmth The related Indo-European root *vélko to lighten glow occurs in Skr ulka firebrand Gr Φελχωνος Volcan The same root *vel also means to sound in Skr vani tone song music Czech volati to call The root *sveno occurs in Skr svan svanati to sound Zend qanant Lat sonare OIran semn Welsh sain Lat sonus OE swinsian The related root *svenos noise occurs in Ved svánas Lat son or sonorus A further related root is *svonios OIran son word The root *sve(n) locative *sveni dative *sunei means sun in Zend qeng (cf above *svéno

²⁹ Cf Brugsch *Religions und Mythologie der alten Aegypten* pp 255f. and the *Dei onna e h éroglyph que*

Zend *qanañt*); Goth. *sun-na*, *sunnó*.⁴⁰ Although the stars are only perceived by their light, we still talk of the music of the spheres and celestial harmony, just as Pythagoras did. Goethe opens his "Prologue in Heaven" in the same way:

The day star, sonorous as of old,
Goes his predestined way along,
And round his path is thunder rolled,
While sister-spheres join rival song.⁴¹

Again, in Part II:

Hearken to the storm of hours!
Ringing out for spirits' ears
Now the new-born day appears.
Gates of rock grind back asunder,
Phoebus comes with wheels of thunder,
Light brings tumult in his train.
Drums and trumpets far resounding,
Dazzling, deafening, dumbfounding,
A din the ears can scarce sustain.
Into bells of blossom creep,
Lie there quietly, as in sleep,
Into rock and under leaf:
If it strikes you, you are deaf.⁴²

236 Nor should we forget the verses of Holderlin:

Where are you? Drunken with all your glory
My soul dreams; yet even now I hearken,
As full of golden tones the radiant sun-youth
Raises his evening song on the heavenly lyre
To the echoing woods and hills. . . .⁴³

237 These images point back to the sun-god Apollo, whose lyre marks him out as the divine musician. The fusion of sound,

⁴⁰ The word *swan* might also be mentioned here, because the swan sings when about to die. The swan, eagle, and phoenix occur in alchemy as related symbols. They signify the sun and thus the philosophical gold. Cf. also the verse from Heine (trans. by Todhunter)

A swan on the lake sings lonely,
He oars himself to and fro,
Then faint and fainter singing,
Sinks to his grave below

⁴¹ Trans. by Wayne, p. 39

⁴² Trans. based on MacNeice, p. 159, and on unpubl. trans. by Philip Wayne

⁴³ "Sunset." [Cf. trans. by Hamburger, p. 97]

speech, light, and fire is expressed in an almost physiological way in the phenomenon of "colour hearing," i.e., the perception of the tonal quality of colours and the chromatic quality of musical tones. This leads one to think that there must be a pre-conscious identity between them: the two phenomena have something in common despite their real differences. It is probably no accident that the two most important discoveries which distinguish man from all other living beings, namely speech and the use of fire, should have a common psychic background. Both are products of psychic energy, of libido or mana. In Sanskrit there is a term which expresses in all its nuances the preconscious situation I have suggested. This is the word *tejas*, and it combines the following meanings:

1. Sharpness, cutting edge.
2. Fire, brightness, light, ardour, heat.
3. Healthy appearance, beauty.
4. The fiery and colour producing faculty of the human organism (located in the bile)
5. Strength, energy, vital force.
6. Passion.
7. Spiritual and magical power, influence, position, dignity.
8. Semen.⁴⁴

⁴³⁸ *Tejas*, therefore, describes the psychological situation covered by the word "libido." It really denotes *subjective intensity*. Anything potent, any content highly charged with energy, therefore has a wide range of symbolic meanings. This is obvious enough in the case of language, which is capable of expressing practically anything. But it may not be out of place to say a few words about the symbolism of fire.

³⁹ The Sanskrit word for fire is *agnis* (Lat. *ignis* ⁴⁵), personified as Agni, the god of fire, a divine mediator (cf. pl. xiii) whose symbolism has certain affinities with Christian ideas.

⁴⁴⁰ An Iranian name for fire is *Nairyosagha*, 'masculine word.' (Cf. the Indian *Narasamsa*, 'wish of men' ⁴⁶) Max Muller says of Agni:

It was a familiar idea with the Brahmins to look upon the fire both as the subject and the object of a sacrifice. The fire embraced the

⁴⁴ [Cf. Macdonell, *Sanskrit Dictionary*, p. 113 sv. *tēgas*—EDDORS] ⁴⁵ Connected with *agilis*, 'agile.' See Max Muller, *Origin and Growth of Religion*,

p. 212 ⁴⁶ Spiegel, *Eränische Altertumskunde*, II, p. 49.

offering, and was thus a kind of priest; it carried it to the gods, and was thus a kind of mediator between gods and men. But the fire represented also something divine, a god to whom honour was due, and thus it became both the subject and the object of the sacrifice. Hence the idea that Agni sacrifices himself, that he offers a sacrifice to himself, and likewise that he offers himself as a sacrifice.⁴⁷

- ⁴¹ The affinity between this line of thought and the Christian symbol is obvious. Krishna expresses the same idea in the Bhagavad Gita:

All's then God!

The sacrifice is Brahm, the ghee and grain
Are Brahm, the fire is Brahm, the flesh it eats
Is Brahm, and unto Brahm attaineth he
Who, in such office, meditates on Brahm.⁴⁸

- ⁴² The wise Diotima in Plato's *Symposium* has a rather different conception of the divine messenger and mediator. She teaches Socrates (ch. 23) that Eros is "the intermediary between mortals and immortals . . . a mighty daemon, dear Socrates; for everything daemonic is the intermediary between God and man." His function is to "interpret and convey messages to the gods from men and to men from the gods, prayers and sacrifices from the one, and commands and rewards from the other, thus bridging the gap between them, so that by his mediation the universe is at one with itself." Diotima gives an excellent description of Eros: "He is bold and forward and strenuous, always devising tricks like a cunning huntsman; he yearns after knowledge and is full of resource and is a lover of wisdom all his life, a skilful magician, an alchemist, a true sophist. He is neither mortal nor immortal; but on one and the same day he will live and flourish (when things go well with him), and also meet his death; and then come to life again through the force of his father's nature. Yet all that he wins is forever slipping away from him."⁴⁹

- ⁴³ In the Avesta and in the Vedas, fire is the messenger of the gods. In Christian mythology, too, there are points of contact

⁴⁷ Max Müller, *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, pp. 164-65 n.

⁴⁸ In Book IV, trans. by Arnold, pp. 25-26

⁴⁹ *Symposium* 202 E, 203 D-E, trans. by Hamilton, pp. 81f., modified.

with the Agni myth Daniel 3 24f speaks of the three men in the burning fiery furnace

Then Nebuchadnezzar the king was astonished and rose up in haste and spake and said unto his counsellors Did we not cast three men bound into the midst of the fire? They answered and said unto the king True O king

He answered and said Lo I see four men loose walking in the midst of the fire and they have no hurt and the form of the fourth is like the Son of God

14 The *Biblia pauperum* (1471) makes the following comment

We read in the third chapter of the book of the prophet Daniel that Nabuchodonosor the King of Babylon caused three men to be placed in a glowing furnace and that the king came to the furnace and looked in and saw with the three a fourth who was like the Son of God The three signify for us the Holy Trinity of the person and the fourth the unity of being Thus Christ in his transfiguration signified the Trinity of the person and the unity of being

15 According to this interpretation the legend of the three men in the furnace is a magical procedure during which a fourth is produced The fiery furnace like the fiery tripod in *Faust*, is a mother symbol From the tripod come Paris and Helen the royal pair of alchemy and in popular tradition children are baked in the oven The alchemical athanor or melting pot signifies the body while the alembic or *cucurbita*, the Hermetic vessel represents the uterus The fourth in the fiery furnace appears like a son of God made visible in the fire⁵⁰ of Israel And the light of Israel will become a fire and his Holy One a flame A hymn of Ephraem the Syrian says of Christ Thou who art all fire have pity on me This view is based on the apocryphal saying of our Lord He who is near unto me is near unto the fire

16 Agni is the sacrificial flame the sacrificer and the sacrificed Just as Christ left behind his redeeming blood a true *phármakon* *áthanasias*, in the wine so Agni is the soma the holy drink of

⁵⁰ The alchemists too were interested in this story and regarded the "fourth" as the *flus philosophorum* Cf *Psychology and Alchemy* par 419

inspiration, the mead of immortality.⁵¹ Soma and fire are identical in Vedic literature. The ancient Hindus saw fire both as a symbol of Agni and as an emanation of the inner libido fire, and for them the same psychic dynamism was at work in the intoxicating drink ("fire-water," Soma-Agni as rain and fire). The Vedic definition of soma as "seminal fluid"⁵² confirms this view. The "somatic" significance of Agni has its parallel in the Christian interpretation of the Eucharistic Blood as the body of Christ.

²⁴⁷ Soma is also the "nourishing drink." Its mythological characteristics coincide with those of fire, and so both are united in Agni. The drink of immortality, Amrita, was stirred by the Hindu gods like the fire. (Pl. xv.)

²⁴⁸ So far our exposition has been based on the *pramantha* component of the Agni sacrifice, and we have concerned ourselves with only one meaning of the word *manthāmi* or *mathnāmi*, namely with that which expresses the idea of rubbing. But as Kuhn has shown, the word can also mean 'to tear or break off,' 'to snatch,' and also 'to rob.'⁵³ In his view this meaning is apparent even in the early Vedic texts. Legend always conceives the discovery of fire as a robbery, and to that extent it is akin to the widespread motif of the "treasure hard to attain." In many myths fire-making is something forbidden, a criminal act of usurpation which can only be accomplished by cunning or violence, but mostly by cunning.⁵⁴ The religious laws of the ancient Hindus threatened with severe penalties anyone who prepared fire in an incorrect manner. It is the custom in the Catholic Church to light a new fire at Easter. So, even in the Occident, fire-making is an element in a religious mystery, which testifies to its symbolical and ambiguous character. The rules of the ritual must be scrupulously observed if it is to have its intended magical effect. Generally the rite has a prophylactic, apotropaic significance, and when incorrectly performed or used

⁵¹ This side of Agni points to Dionysus, who exhibits parallels both with Christian and with Indian mythology

⁵² "Whatever is liquid he created from semen, and that is soma" Brih Up 1. 4. 6

⁵³ The question is whether this meaning was only a secondary development Kuhn seems to assume this, he says (*Mythol Studien*, I, p 18) "But, together with the meaning which the root *manth* had already developed, there also grew up in the Vedas, as a natural development of the procedure, the idea of tearing off or plucking"

⁵⁴ For examples see Frobenius, *Das Zeitalter des Sonnengottes*

may conjure up the very danger it was intended to avert. Speech and fire-making represent primitive man's victory over his brutish unconsciousness and subsequently became powerful magical devices for overcoming the ever-present "daemonic" forces lurking in the unconscious. Both these applications of libido require attention, concentration, and inner discipline, thereby facilitating a further development of consciousness. On the other hand incorrect performance and use of the rite cause a retrograde movement of the libido, a regression which threatens to reproduce the earlier, instinctual, and unconscious state. The danger lies in those well-known "perils of the soul"—a splitting of the personality ("loss of a soul") and reduction of consciousness, both of which automatically increase the power of the unconscious. The consequences of this are a serious danger not only for primitives; in civilized man, too, they may give rise to psychic disturbances, states of possession, and psychic epidemics.

219 The blocking of libido leads to an accumulation of instinctuality and, in consequence, to excesses and aberrations of all kinds. Among them, sexual disturbances are fairly frequent, as we might expect. A particularly instructive example is the psychology of incendiarism: incendiarism is really a regressive act of fire making, and in certain cases it is combined with masturbation. Schmid⁸⁵ tells of an imbecile peasant youth who started numerous fires. On one occasion he aroused suspicion by standing in the door of a house with his hands in his trouser-pockets, gazing with delight at the conflagration. Later, under examination, he admitted that he always masturbated while enjoying the spectacle of the fires he had started.

250 The preparation of fire is an immemorial custom, harmless enough in itself, which soon ceased to have anything very mysterious about it. But there was always a tendency to prepare fire in a mysterious ceremonial manner on special occasions—just as with ritual eating and drinking—and to do it according to prescribed rules from which no one dared to differ. This ritual serves to remind us of the original numinosity of fire-making, but apart from that it has no practical significance. The anamnesis of fire making is on a level with the recollection of the ancestors among primitives and of the gods at a more civil-

85 * Zur Psychologie der Brandstifter," p. 80.

lized stage. From the psychological point of view the ceremony has the significance of a meaningful institution, inasmuch as it represents a clearly defined procedure for canalizing the libido. It has, in fact, the functional value of a paradigm, and its purpose is to show us how we should act when the libido gets blocked. What we call the "blocking of libido" is, for the primitive, a hard and concrete fact: his life ceases to flow, things lose their glamour, plants, animals, and men no longer prosper. The ancient Chinese philosophy of the *I Ching* devised some brilliant images for this state of affairs. Modern man, in the same situation, experiences a standstill ("I am stuck"), a loss of energy and enjoyment ("the zest—libido—has gone out of life"), or a depression. One frequently has to tell the patient what is happening to him, for modern man's powers of introspection leave much to be desired. If, even today, the new fire is kindled at Eastertide, it is in commemoration of the redemptive and saving significance of the first fire-boring. In this way man wrested a secret from nature—the Promethean theft of fire. He made himself guilty of an unlawful intervention, incorporating a fragment of the age old unconscious into the darkness of his mind. With this theft he appropriated something precious and offended against the gods. Anyone who knows the primitive's fear of innovations and their unforeseen consequences can imagine the uncertainty and uneasy conscience which such a discovery would arouse. This primordial experience finds an echo in the widespread motif of robbery (sun cattle of Geryon, apples of the Hesperides, herb of immortality). And it is worth remembering that in the cult of Diana at Aricia only he could become her priest who plucked the golden bough from the sacred grove of the goddess.

IV

THE ORIGIN OF THE HERO

31 The finest of all symbols of the libido is the human figure conceived as a demon or hero. Here the symbolism leaves the objective material realm of astral and meteorological images and takes on human form changing into a figure who passes from joy to sorrow from sorrow to joy and like the sun now stands high at the zenith and now is plunged into darkest night only to rise again in new splendour.¹ Just as the sun by its own motion and in accordance with its own inner law climbs from morn till noon crosses the meridian and goes its downward way towards evening leaving its radiance behind it and finally plunges into all enveloping night so man sets his course by immutable laws and his journey over sinks into darkness to rise again in his children and begin the cycle anew. The symbolic transition from sun to man is easily made and the third and last creation of Miss Miller's follows this pattern. She calls it *Chiwantopel*. A hypnagogic drama and gives us the following information concerning its origin.

After an evening of trouble and anxiety I had gone to bed at half past eleven. I felt restless unable to sleep although very tired. I had the impression of being in a receptive mood. There was no light in the room. I closed my eyes and had the feeling of waiting for some thing that was about to happen. Then I felt a great relaxation come over me and I remained as completely passive as possible. Lines sparks and spirals of fire passed before my eyes symptoms of nervousness and ocular fatigue followed by a kaleidoscopic and fragmentary review of recent trivial events.

52 The reader will share my regret that we cannot know the cause of her worry and anxiety. It would have been of great importance. Hence the beautiful name of the sun hero Glgamesh "The Man of Joy and Sorrow" in Jensen *Das Gilgamesch Epos*.

importance for what follows to have information on this point. This gap in our knowledge is the more regrettable because, between the first poem (1898) and the fantasy now to be discussed (1902), four whole years have passed. All information is lacking regarding this period, during which the problem was assuredly not slumbering in the unconscious. Maybe this lack has its advantages, in that our interest in the general validity of the fantasy now struggling to be born is not obscured by any sympathetic concern for the personal fate of the author. This obviates the difficulty which often prevents the doctor, in his daily



Fig 17 The first three labours of Heracles
Classical sarcophagus relief

work, from turning his eyes away from the wearisome mass of petty detail to those wider relationships where every neurotic conflict is seen to be part of human fate as a whole.

253 The state of mind depicted by our author is very much like that which usually precedes a case of intentional somnambulism,² and has often been described by mediums. A certain willingness to give ear to these faint nocturnal voices must be there, otherwise these subtle and hardly perceptible inner experiences will pass unnoticed. We can discern in this listening attitude an inward flowing current of libido, leading towards a still invisible and mysterious goal. It is as if the libido had suddenly discovered, in the depths of the unconscious, an object which exercises a powerful attraction. As our life is directed

² Cf the researches of Silberer, "Phantasie und Mythos," pp 513ff

outwards and does not normally allow of such introversions, we have to suppose a rather exceptional condition, for instance a lack of external objects, which forces the individual to seek a substitute in his own psyche. It is hard to believe that this teeming world is too poor to provide an object for human love—it offers boundless opportunities to everyone. It is rather the inability to love which robs a person of these opportunities. The world is empty only to him who does not know how to direct his libido towards things and people, and to render them alive and beautiful. What compels us to create a substitute from within ourselves is not an external lack, but our own inability to include anything outside ourselves in our love. Certainly the difficulties and adversities of the struggle for existence may oppress us, yet even the worst conditions need not hinder love; on the contrary, they often spur us on to greater efforts. Real difficulties alone will never drive the libido back to the point where a neurosis arises, because the conflict which is the precondition for every neurosis is lacking. Only a resistance, which opposes its obstinate "won't" to the "will," is capable of producing a regression that may become the starting-point for a pathogenic disturbance. Resistance to loving produces the inability to love, or else that inability acts as a resistance. Just as the libido may be compared to a steady stream pouring its waters into the world of reality, so a resistance, dynamically considered, resembles, not a rock that juts up from the river-bed and causes the stream to flow round it, but a flowing back towards the source. Part of the psyche really wants the external object, but another part of it strives back to the subjective world, where the airy and lightly built palaces of fantasy beckon. We can take this dichotomy of the human will, for which Bleuler has coined the term "ambitendency,"³ as a constant factor, bearing in mind that the most primitive motor impulses are essentially antithetical, since, even in a simple act like stretching, the flexor muscles must be innervated. Normally, however, this ambitendency never leads to the inhibition or prevention of the intended act, but is absolutely necessary for its co-ordination and execution. If, from this harmony of delicately balanced opposites, there should arise any resistance to the act, then it must be due to an abnormal plus or minus

³ See Bleuler, "Zur Theorie des schizophrenen Negativismus"

quantity on one side or the other. The resistance springs from the intervention of this third factor. This is true also of the dichotomy of the will which is the cause of so many human problems. The abnormal "third factor" loosens the paired opposites which are normally bound tightly together and makes them appear as separate tendencies, as a genuine "won't" and "will" that get in each other's way.⁴ Harmony thus turns into disharmony. This is not the place to investigate where the unknown third factor comes from and what it is. Freud sees the root complex in the incest problem, since in his view the libido that regresses to the parents produces not only symbols, but symptoms and situations that can only be regarded as incestuous. This is the source of all those incestuous relationships with which mythology swarms. The reason this regression is so easy seems to lie in the specific inertia of the libido, which will relinquish no object of the past, but would like to hold it fast forever. Stripped of its incestuous covering, Nietzsche's "sacriligious backward grasp" is only a metaphor for a reversion to the original passive state where the libido is arrested in the objects of childhood. This inertia, as La Rochefoucauld says, is also a passion:

Of all the Passions we are exposed to, none is more concealed from our Knowledge than Idleness. It is the most violent, and the most mischievous of any, and yet at the same time we are never sensible of its Violence, and the damage we sustain by it is very seldom seen. If we consider its Power carefully, it will be found, upon all Occasions, to reign absolute over all our Sentiments, our Interests, and our Pleasures. This is a Remora that can stop the largest Ships, and a Calm of worse Consequence in our Affairs, than any Rocks, and Storms. The Ease and Quiet of Sloth is a secret Charm upon the Soul, to suspend its most eager Pursuits, and shake its most peremptory Resolutions. In a Word, to give a true image of this Passion, we must say that it is a supposed Felicity of the Soul, that makes her easie under all her Losses, and supplies the Place of all her Enjoyments and Advantages.⁵

251 This dangerous passion is what lies hidden beneath the hazardous mask of incest. It confronts us in the guise of the

⁴ Cf. Krishna's exhortation to the hesitant Arjuna in the Bhagavad Gita "But thou, be free of the pairs of opposites!" (Trans. by Arnold, p. 13)

⁵ La Rochefoucauld, *Moral Maxims*, No. DLX, p. 139

Terrible Mother⁶ (pl. xvi cf. also pl. xxxviii) and is indeed the mother of innumerable evils not the least of which are neurotic disturbances. For out of the miasmas arising from the stagnant pools of libido are born those baneful phantasmagorias which so veil reality that all adaptation becomes impossible. However we shall not enquire further into the origin of incest fantasies: the bare mention of the incest problem must suffice. Here we are concerned only with the question whether the resistance which in the case of our author led to a regression signifies a conscious external difficulty or not. If it were an external difficulty then the libido would be violently dammed back and would produce a flood of fantasies which could best be described as plans to overcome the obstacle: ideas that try with solutions perhaps even some hard thinking which might lead to anything rather than a hypnagogic poem. The passive state described above does not fit in with the idea of an external obstacle but through its very acquiescence points in a tendency that scorns real solutions and prefers a fantastic substitute. In the last resort therefore we must be dealing with an internal conflict somewhat after the style of those earlier experiences which resulted in the first two unconscious creations. We are thus forced to conclude that the external object simply cannot be loved because an overwhelming proportion of the libido prefers an internal object that rises up from the unconscious as a substitute for the missing reality.

25. The visionary phenomena produced by the first stage of introversion can be classed among the well known symptoms of hypnagogic vision. They provide the basis for the actual visions or self-perceptions of the libido in the form of symbols.

25f. Miss Miller continues

Then an impression that something was on the point of being communicated to me. It seemed as if these words were repeating themselves in me— Speak Lord for thy servant heareth— Open thou mine ears

257. This passage describes the underlying intention very clearly: the word communication (*communiqué*) is actually a common expression in mediumistic circles. The Biblical words con-

⁶ Cf. the following chapters.

⁷ Cf. Miller: *Über die phantastischen Vorstellungen*.

tain an invocation or "prayer," that is, a wish addressed to God, a concentration of libido on the God-image. The prayer refers to I Samuel 3: 1ff., where Samuel was called three times by God during the night, but thought it was Eli calling him, until Eli told him that it was God, and that if he was called again, he should answer: "Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth." The dreamer uses these words in the opposite sense, in order to direct her wishes, her libido, into the depths of the unconscious.

58 We know that however much individuals differ from one another in the content of their conscious minds, they become all the more alike when regarded from the standpoint of the unconscious. The psychotherapist cannot fail to be impressed when he realizes how uniform the unconscious images are despite their surface richness. Differences only arise through individuation—a fact which provides the psychological justification for an essential portion of the philosophies of Schopenhauer, Carus, and von Hartmann, whose views have as their psychic basis the obvious uniformity of the unconscious. The unconscious consists, among other things, of remnants of the undifferentiated archaic psyche, including its animal stages. The reactions and products of the animal psyche have a uniformity and constancy of which we seem able to discover only sporadic traces in man. Man seems to us far more individual than the animals. This may perhaps be a delusion, since we have in us a convenient tendency to discern differences mainly in the things which interest us. Psychological adaptation makes this inevitable, for without the minute differentiation of impressions all adaptation would be impossible. So strong is this tendency that we have, in fact, the greatest difficulty in recognizing the common connection between the things we have to do with in everyday life. It is much easier to recognize the connection in things that are remote from us. For instance, it is almost impossible for a European to distinguish at first between the faces in a Chinese crowd, although the Chinese have just as individual a physiognomy as we Europeans; but what their faces have in common is much more evident to the outsider than their individual differences. If we live among the Chinese, the impression of uniformity gradually disappears, and in the end they too become individuals. Individuality is one of those conditioned factors which are greatly overrated on account of their

practical importance; it does not come into the category of those self-evident, universal truths upon which a science must be founded. The individual content of consciousness is therefore the most unfavourable object imaginable for psychology, precisely because it has differentiated the universal to the point of unrecognizability. The essence of conscious processes is adaptation, which takes place in a series of particulars. The unconscious, on the other hand, is universal: it not only binds individuals together into a nation or race, but unites them with the men of the past and with their psychology. Thus, by reason of its supra-individual universality,⁸ the unconscious is the prime object of any real psychology that claims to be more than psychophysics.

259 Man as an individual is a very suspicious phenomenon whose right to exist could be questioned by the biologist, since from that point of view he is significant only as a collective creature or as a particle in the mass. The cultural point of view gives man a meaning apart from the mass, and this, in the course of centuries, led to the development of personality and the cult of the hero. The efforts of rationalistic theology to preserve the *personal* Jesus as the last and most precious remnant of a divinity whom we are no longer capable of imagining, are quite in keeping with this tendency. In this respect the Catholic Church proved more adaptable, since she met the universal need for a visible hero by recognizing God's vicar upon earth. The concrete reality of religious figures assists the canalization of libido into the equivalent symbols, provided that the worship of them does not get stuck at the outward object. But even if it does, it at least remains bound to the representative human figure and loses its original primitive form, even though it does not attain the desired symbolic form. This need for a visible reality has been secretly preserved in a certain personalistic brand of Protestant theology which insists on the historical Jesus. Not that men have ever loved the visible God: they do not love him for what he appears to be, a mere man, because if the pious want to love humanity they have only to turn to their neighbours or their enemies. The religious figure cannot be a mere man, for it has to represent what it actually is, namely the totality of all those primordial images which express the

⁸ In my later works, I therefore speak of the "collective" unconscious.

"extraordinarily potent," always and everywhere. What we seek in visible human form is not man, but the superman, the hero or god, that *quasi human* being who symbolizes the ideas, forms, and forces which grip and mould the soul. These, so far as psychological experience is concerned, are the archetypal contents of the (collective) unconscious, the archaic heritage of humanity, the legacy left behind by all differentiation and development and bestowed upon all men like sunlight and air. But in loving this inheritance they love that which is common to all; they turn back to the mother of humanity, to the psyche, which was before consciousness existed, and in this way they make contact with the source and regain something of that mysterious and irresistible power which comes from the feeling of being part of the whole. It is the problem of Antaeus, who could only keep his giant strength through contact with mother earth. This temporary withdrawal into oneself seems, within certain limits, to have a favourable effect upon the psychic well-being of the individual. As one would expect, the two fundamental mechanisms of the psyche, extraversion and introversion, are also to a large extent the normal and appropriate ways of reacting to complexes—extraversion as a means of escaping from the complex into reality, introversion as a means of detaching oneself from external reality through the complex.

260 The story in I Samuel 3: 1ff. illustrates how the libido can be directed inwards: the invocation expresses this introversion, and the explicit expectation that God will speak empties the conscious mind of activity and transfers it to the divine being constellated by the invocation, who, from the empirical point of view, must be regarded as a primordial image. It is a fact of experience that all archetypal contents have a certain autonomy, since they appear spontaneously and can often exercise an overwhelming compulsion. There is, therefore, nothing intrinsically absurd about the expectation that "God" will take over the activity and spontaneity of the conscious mind, for the primordial images are quite capable of doing precisely this.

261 Now that we have informed ourselves of the general purpose of the prayer, we are prepared to hear more about the visions of our dreamer. After the prayer, "the head of a sphinx in an Egyptian setting" appeared, only to disappear again immediately after. At this point the dreamer was disturbed, and

woke up for a moment. The vision recalls the fantasy of the Egyptian statue mentioned in the beginning, whose rigid gesture is entirely in place here as a functional phenomenon, the light stages of hypnosis being technically known as "engourdissement" (stiffening). The word "sphinx" suggests "enigma," an enigmatic creature who propounds riddles, like the Sphinx of Oedipus, and stands on the threshold of man's fate as though symbolically announcing the inevitable. The Sphinx is a semi-theriomorphic representation of the mother-imago, or rather of the Terrible Mother, who has left numerous traces in mythology. I shall be told that nothing except the word "Sphinx" justifies our allusion to the Sphinx of Oedipus. But, in the absence of any context, an individual interpretation of the vision is impossible. The "Egyptian" fantasy hinted at in Part I (par. 52) is far too vague to be used here. Therefore, in order to understand the vision at all, we have to turn boldly to the ethnological material, on the assumption that the unconscious coins its symbols today in much the same way as it did in the remote past. With regard to the Sphinx, I would remind the reader of what I said in Part I (par. 24) about theriomorphic representations of the libido. (Cf. pl. iv.) They are well known to the doctor from the dreams and fantasies of his patients, where instinct is often represented as a bull, horse, dog, etc. One of my patients, who had questionable relations with women, and who began the treatment with the fear that I would forbid him his adventures, dreamt that I had very skillfully speared a strange animal, half pig, half crocodile, to the wall. Dreams are full of these theriomorphic representations of libido. Hybrids and monsters, like the one found here, are not at all infrequent. Bertschinger⁹ has given us a series of illustrations in which the lower (animal) half in particular is represented theriomorphically. The libido so represented is the "animal" instinct¹⁰ that has got repressed. In the above-men-

⁹ "Illustrierte Halluzinationen," pp 69ff

¹⁰ In the Middle Ages, the sphinx was regarded as an "emblem" of pleasure. Thus Andrea Alciati says in his *Emblematum* (p 801) that the sphinx signifies "corporis voluptas, primo quidem aspectu blandiens, sed asperum. Iristique, postquam gustaveris De qua sic . . . meretricius ardor egregius iuvenes sevocat a studiis" (the pleasure of the body, attractive indeed at first sight, but very bitter and sad after you have tasted it And . . . [name corrupt] says this about it: the love of whores lures young men away from lofty studies)

tioned case, one asks oneself in some bewilderment where the repression can lie in such a man, since he obviously lives out his instincts as much as possible. But we must remember that sex is not the only instinct, nor can instinct be identified outright with sex. It is therefore conceivable that my patient was damaging his instinct precisely through his manifest lack of sexual repression. His fear of my imposing some medical prohibition on him is reflected a little too faithfully in the dream for the latter to be altogether above suspicion. Dreams which repeat the real situation too emphatically, or insist too plainly on some anticipated reality, are making use of conscious contents as a means of expression. His dream is really expressing a projection: he projects the killing of the animal on to the doctor. That is the way it appears to him, because he does not know that he himself is injuring his instinct. The pointed instrument generally means the needle of the intellect, with which insects are pinned down and classified. He has "modern" ideas about sex, and does not know that he has an unconscious fear of my taking his pet theories away from him. This possibility is rightly feared, for if it were not in him he would hardly have had this dream. Thus the theriomorphic symbols always refer to unconscious manifestations of libido.

261 There are two main reasons why these instinctual impulses are unconscious: the first is the general unconsciousness which we all share to a greater or less degree; the other is a secondary unconsciousness due to the repression of incompatible contents. This is not a cause, but rather a symptom, of a neurotic attitude which prefers to overlook unpleasant facts, and unhesitatingly risks a whole chain of pathological symptoms for the sake of some small advantage in the present.

263 Repression, as we have seen, is not directed solely against sexuality, but against the instincts in general, which are the vital foundations, the laws governing all life. The regression caused by repressing the instincts always leads back to the psychic past, and consequently to the phase of childhood where the decisive factors appear to be, and sometimes actually are, the parents. But the inborn instincts of the child play a distinct role aside from the parents, as can be seen from the fact that the parents do not exercise a uniform influence on their children, who each react to them in a different way. They must,

of Faust: "The Mothers, the Mothers, it has a wondrous sound!" Little did he know that the riddle of the Sphinx can never be solved merely by the wit of man.

65 The genealogy of the Sphinx has manifold connections with the problem touched upon here: she was a daughter of Echidna, a monster with the top half of a beautiful maiden, and a hideous serpent below. This double being corresponds to the mother-imago: above, the lovely and attractive human half; below, the horrible animal half, changed into a fear-animal by the incest prohibition.¹³ Echidna was born of the All-Mother, Mother Earth, Gaia, who conceived her with Tartarus, the personification of the underworld. Echidna herself was the mother of all terrors, of the Chimera, Scylla, the Gorgon (pl. xivb), of frightful Cerberus, of the Nemean lion, and of the eagle that devoured the liver of Prometheus. She also gave birth to a number of dragons. One of her sons was Orthrus, the dog of the monster Geryon, who was slain by Hercules. With this dog, her own son, Echidna incestuously begat the Sphinx. This should be sufficient to characterize the complex whose symbol is the Sphinx. It is evident that a factor of such magnitude cannot be disposed of by solving a childish riddle. The riddle was, in fact, the trap which the Sphinx laid for the unwary wanderer. Overestimating his intellect in a typically masculine way, Oedipus walked right into it, and all unknowingly committed the crime of incest. The riddle of the Sphinx was *herself*—the terrible mother-imago, which Oedipus would not take as a warning.

266 If, in spite of the lack of subjective material, we may venture an inference concerning the sphinx symbol in the case of Miss Miller, we may perhaps say that its meaning for her is approximately the same as it was for Oedipus, even though Oedipus was a man. We would almost expect a masculine sphinx, and as a matter of fact there are masculine as well as feminine sphinxes in Egypt. This may have been known to Miss Miller. (The Sphinx of Thebes was undoubtedly feminine.) If our expectations are correct, it would have to be a masculine monster, because the danger for a woman comes not from the mother, but from the father. We shall leave this question undecided for the moment, and turn back to the facts. After Miss Miller had

¹³ In Hellenistic syncretism, the Echidna became a cult symbol of mother Isis

concentrated her thoughts again, the vision continued as follows

Suddenly, the apparition of an Aztec, complete in every detail hand open, with large fingers head in profile armoured with a head-dress resembling the plumed crests of the American Indians etc The whole is somewhat suggestive of the carvings on Mexican monuments

67 Our conjecture that a masculine figure was hidden in the Sphinx is now confirmed The Aztec is a primitive Indian or rather a primitive American On the personal level he represents the primitive side of the father since Miss Miller was an American I have frequently observed in the analysis of Americans that the inferior side of the personality, the shadow¹⁴ is represented by a Negro or an Indian whereas in the dream of a European it would be represented by a somewhat shady individual of his own kind These representatives of the so-called lower races stand for the inferior personality component of the man But Miss Miller is a woman Therefore her shadow would have to be a feminine figure But what we have here is a masculine figure which, in view of the role it plays in the Miller fantasies must be regarded as a personification of the masculine component of the woman's personality (Cf pl xvii) In my later writings I have called this personification the animus¹⁵

68 The details of this vision are worth going into because there are several things to be noticed The head dress of eagle's feathers has a magical significance The Indian takes on something of the sun like nature of this bird when he adorns himself with its feathers just as he assimilates the courage and strength of his enemy when he eats the latter's heart or takes his scalp At the same time the feather crest is a crown which is equivalent to the rays of the sun (Pl xvii) The importance of the sun identification was made clear in Part I Further proof of this is furnished not only by innumerable ancient customs but by equally ancient religious figures of speech as in the Wis

¹⁴ To the extent that the shadow is unconscious it corresponds to the concept of the personal unconscious Cf On the Psychology of the Unconscious "Two Essays" par 103

¹⁵ Cf Emma Jung Ein Beitrag zum Problem des Animus" pp 296ff.

dom of Solomon 5:16: "Therefore shall they receive . . . a beautiful crown from the Lord's hand." There are countless other passages of this kind in the Bible. A hymn by J. L. K. Allendorf says of the soul:

The soul is freed from all care and pain
And in dying it has come
To the crown of joy; she stands as bride and queen
In the glitter of eternal splendour,
At the side of the great king.

It [the soul] sees a clear countenance [sun]:
His [the sun's] joyful loving nature
Now restores it through and through:
It is a light in his light.
Now the child can see the father.
He feels the gentle emotion of love.
Now he can understand the word of Jesus.
He himself, the father, has loved you.
An unfathomable sea of benefits,
An abyss of eternal waves of blessing
Is disclosed to the enlightened spirit:
He beholds the countenance of God,
And knows what signifies the inheritor
Of God in light and the co-heir of Christ.
The feeble body rests on the earth:
It sleeps until Jesus awakens it.
Then will the dust become the sun,
Which now is covered by the dark cavern:
Then shall we come together
With all the pious, who knows how soon,
And will be for eternity with the Lord.¹⁶

269 Another hymn, by Laurentius Laurentii (1660-1722), says¹⁷

To the bride, because she conquers,
Now is given the eternal crown¹⁷

¹⁶ Bunsen, *Gebetbuch*, No 912 p 789 [As trans. in the Hinkle (1916) edn] The crown also plays a role in alchemy perhaps as a result of cabalistic influence (Cf the compilation by Goodenough, "The Crown of Victory in Judaism," pp 139ff) The hermaphrodite is generally represented as crowned (pl xviii) For the alchemical material on the crown, see "Psychology of the Transference," par 497, n 14

¹⁷ Bunsen, No 494 p 271.

In a hymn by G. W. Sacer (1635-99) we find the passage:

Adorn my coffin with garlands
Just as a conqueror is adorned,
From those springs of heaven,
My soul has attained
The eternally green crown.
The true glory of victory,
Coming from the son of God
Who has so cared for me¹⁸

Special importance seems to attach to the hand, which is described as "open," with "large" fingers. It is rather odd that the accent should fall on the hand, as one would rather have expected a description of the face and its expression. It is well known that the gesture of the hand is significant; unfortunately, further details are lacking here. Nevertheless, we might mention a parallel fantasy which also concerns the hand: a patient in a hypnagogic condition saw his mother painted on a wall, like a mural in a Byzantine church. She held one hand up, wide open, with splayed fingers. The fingers were very large, swollen at the ends into knobs, each surrounded by a small halo. The immediate association with this image was the fingers of a frog with suckers at the ends; then the resemblance to a phallus. The antiquated setting of the mother image is also important. Presumably the hand in this fantasy had a spermatoc and creative significance. This interpretation is borne out by other fantasies of the same patient: he saw what looked like a sky-rocket going up from his mother's hand, which on closer inspection proved to be a shining bird with golden wings—a golden pheasant, it then occurred to him. We have seen in the last chapter that the hand actually has a phallic meaning, and that it plays a corresponding role in the production of fire. Fire is bored with the hand, therefore fire comes from the hand; and Agni, fire, was worshipped as a golden winged bird.¹⁹

Miss Miller says of the Aztec: "In my childhood I was particularly interested in Aztec remains and in the history of Peru and the Incas." Unfortunately, she tells us nothing more in this connection. We can, however, conclude from the sudden ap-

¹⁸ Ibid., No. 640 p. 348 [As trans. in the Hinkle (1916) edn.]

¹⁹ In popular German speech incendiarism is called "putting a red cock on the roof."

pearance of the Aztec that the unconscious was willing to let itself be impressed by her reading, presumably because this material had a natural affinity with her unconscious contents or was able to give them satisfactory expression. Just as we surmised an aspect of the mother in the Sphinx, so the Aztec is probably an aspect of the father. The mother's influence is mainly on the Eros of her son, therefore it was only logical that Oedipus should end up by marrying his mother. But the father exerts his influence on the mind or spirit of his daughter—on her "Logos." This he does by increasing her in intellectuality, often to a pathological degree which in my later writings I have described as "animus possession." These spiritual influences played a not unimportant part in the personal history of our author and, as I pointed out in the Foreword to the second edition of this volume, finally led to insanity. Although the Aztec is a masculine figure and thus clearly betrays the influence of the father, it was the feminine Sphinx that came first. In an American girl this might conceivably point to the preponderance of the feminine element. Mother complexes are extremely common in America and often very pronounced, probably because of the strong maternal influence in the home and the social position of women generally. The fact that more than half the capital in America is in women's hands gives one something to think about. As a result of this conditioning many American women develop their masculine side, which is then compensated in the unconscious by an exquisitely feminine instinct, aptly symbolized by a Sphinx.

- 273 The figure of the Aztec appears with all its "heroic" qualities: it represents the masculine ideal for the primitive, female side of our author. We have already met this ideal in the Italian naval officer, who "so softly and silently vanished away." Though, in certain respects, he came up to the unconscious ideal that floated before Miss Miller, he was not able to compete with this rival because he lacked the mysterious charm of the "demon lover," of the angel who takes a tender interest in the daughters of men, as angels sometimes seem inclined to do (Hence the rule that women must cover up their hair in church, where the angels hover near!) We now understand what it was that turned against the naval officer: it was Miss Miller's spirituality, which, personified as the Aztec, was far too exalted for

her ever to find a lover among mortal men. However reasonable and unexpecting the conscious attitude may be in such a case it will not have the slightest effect on the patient's unconscious expectations. Even after the greatest difficulties and resistances have been overcome, and a so-called normal marriage is made, she will only discover later on what the unconscious wants, and this will assert itself either as a change of life style or as a neurosis or even a psychosis.

74 After this vision Miss Miller felt that a name was forming itself in her "bit by bit," a name that seemed to belong to this Aztec, who was the 'son of an Inca of Peru'. The name was 'Chi wan to pel'.²⁰ The author says that it was somehow connected with her reminiscences. The act of naming is, like baptism, extremely important as regards the creation of personality, for a magical power has been attributed to the name since time immemorial. To know the secret name of a person is to have power over him. A well known example of this is the tale of Rumpelstiltskin. In an Egyptian myth, Isis permanently robs the sun god Ra of his power by compelling him to tell her his real name. Therefore, to give a name means to give power to invest with a definite personality or soul.²¹ Here the author remarked that the name reminded her very much of "Popocatepetl," which as we all know belongs to the unforgettable memories of our school days and much to the indignation of patients under analysis occasionally turns up in a dream or

20 In the mystery religions there is no doubt about the identity of the divine hero with the celebrant. A prayer addressed to Hermes says: $\sigma\delta\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \epsilon\gamma\omega\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\gamma\omega\ \sigma\epsilon\ \tau\delta\ \sigma\delta\epsilon\ \delta\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\ \epsilon\mu\omicron\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\delta\ \epsilon\mu\omicron\nu\ \sigma\epsilon\epsilon\ \epsilon\gamma\omega\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \epsilon\mu\ \tau\delta\epsilon\ \delta\omega\delta\omicron\nu\ \sigma\omicron\nu$ (For you are I and I am you, your name is mine and my name is yours for I am your image) Kenyon *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* p. 116. Pap. CXII 36-38 cited in Dieterich *Mithrasliturgie* p. 97. The hero as a libido image is aptly portrayed in the head of Dionysus in Leiden (Roscher *Lexikon* I 1128) where the hair is twisted up like a flame. Cf. Isaiah 10 17 (RSV) "The light of Israel will be come a fire and his Holy One a flame." Firmicus Maternus (*De errore* XIV) reports that the god was greeted as the "bridegroom" and the "new light." He quotes the saying: $\nu\upsilon\mu\phi\iota\epsilon\ \chi\alpha\ \rho\epsilon\ \tau\ \mu\phi\iota\epsilon\ \chi\alpha\ \rho\epsilon\ \rho\omicron\tau\omicron\rho\ \phi\omega\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ (The light bridegroom hail new light!) and contrasts it with the Christian "Nullum apud te lumen est nec est al qui sponsus mereatur nudiunum lumen est unus est sponsus. Num num horum gratiam Christus accepit. (No light is with you nor is there anyone who deserves the name of bridegroom there is only one light one bridegroom. The grace of these titles is reserved to Christ).

21 Hence the old custom of giving children the names of saints.

association. Although one might hesitate to regard this school-boy joke as of psychological importance, one must nevertheless inquire into the reasons for its existence. One must also ask: Why is it always Popocatepetl and not the neighbouring Ixtacihuatl, or the even higher and more beautiful Orizaba? The latter is a nicer name and is far easier to pronounce. Popocatepetl, however, is impressive precisely because of its onomatopoeic name. In English the onomatopoeia that comes to mind is *pop* or *pop-gun*; in German and French, the words *Hinterpommern*, *Pumpnickel*, *Bombe*, *petarde* (*le pet* = flatus). The German word *Popo*, 'posterior,' does not exist in English,²² but on the other hand to break wind is sometimes called *to pop* or *to poop*, and the act of defecation is commonly known as *to poop* or *to poo-poo* in childish speech. A jocular name for the posterior is *bum*. (*Poop* also means the rear end of a ship.) In French, *pouf!* is onomatopoeic; *pouffer*, 'explode,' *la poupe*, 'poop of a ship,' *le poupard*, 'baby in arms,' *la poupée*, 'doll.' *Poupon* is a pet name for a chubby-cheeked child. In Dutch, *pop* is 'doll'; in Latin, *puppis* means poop of a ship, though Plautus uses it jokingly for the backside of the body; *pupus*, 'child,' *pupula*, 'girl, little doll.' The Greek *κοντίζω* denotes a smacking, snapping, or blowing noise. It is used of kissing, but also (in Theocritus) of the subsidiary noises connected with flute-playing.

- ²⁷⁵ One of my patients, in his boyhood, always associated the act of defecation with the fantasy that his posterior was a volcano in full eruption, with violent explosions of gas and gushings forth of lava. The words for the elemental occurrences of nature are not, as a rule, very poetical: one thinks of a beautiful phenomenon like the meteor, which in German is called "Sternschnuppe" (smouldering wick of a star, which is "snuffed" out). Certain South American Indians call it "piss of the stars." The Voile de la Vierge waterfall in the Valais, famous for its beauty, has only recently been called by this poetic name. Formerly it was known as the Pissevache. One takes the name from the nearest source.

²² [The term is reported from the United States. In a popular song, "Feet Up, Pat Him on the Po po," copyright 1932, a baby is being playfully patted on the buttocks. The term is said to occur in American Southern dialect and appears to be unrelated to German.—Editors.]

It seems very puzzling at first why the figure of Chiwantopel, whom Miss Miller awaited with positively mystical expectation and whom she herself compared in a note to a mediumistic control, should get into such a disreputable neighbourhood that his very essence—his name—appears to be bound up with those out of the way regions of the body. In order to understand this, we have to realize that when something is produced from the unconscious, the first thing to come up is the infantile material that has long been lost to memory. We have therefore, to adopt the point of view of that time, when this material was still on the surface. So if a much venerated object is related by the unconscious to the anal region we have to conclude that this is a way of expressing respect and attention such as the child feels for these forbidden functions. Naturally traces of this infantile interest still linger on in the adult. The only question is whether this interest corresponds to the psychology of the child. Before we attempt to answer this question it must be said at once that the anal region is very closely connected with veneration. An Oriental fairy tale relates that the Crusaders used to anoint themselves with the excrement of the Pope in order to make themselves more formidable. One of my patients who had a special veneration for her father, had a fantasy in which she saw her father sitting on a commode in a dignified manner while people filed past greeting him effusively. We might also mention the intimate connection between excrement and gold.²³ the lowest value allies itself to the highest. The alchemists sought their *prima materia* in excrement, one of the arcane substances from which it was hoped that the mystic figure of the *filius philosophorum* would emerge (in stercore inventitur). A very religiously brought up young patient once dreamt that she saw the Crucifix formed of excrement on the bottom of a blue-flowered chamber pot. The contrast is so enormous that one can only assume that the valuations of childhood are totally different from ours. And so indeed they are.

²³ De Gubernatis (*Zoological Mythology*) says that dung and gold are always associated in folklore and Freud tells us the same thing on the basis of his psychological experience. Grimm reports the following magical practice: "If you want money in the house all the year round you must eat lentils on New Year's Day. This singular association is very simply explained by the indigestibility of lentils which reappear in the form of coins. In this manner one defecates money."

Children bring to the act of defecation and its products an interest²⁴ such as is later evinced only by the hypochondriac. We can only begin to understand this interest when we realize that the young child connects defecation with a theory of propagation. This puts a somewhat different complexion on the matter. The child thinks: that is how things are produced, how they "come out."

27 The same child on whom I reported in my "Psychic Conflicts in a Child" and who had a well-developed anal birth theory, like Freud's "Little Hans,"²⁵ later contracted the habit of sitting for hours on the toilet. On one occasion her father, growing impatient, went to the toilet and called: "Come out at once! Whatever are you doing?" Whereupon the answer came from within: "I'm doing a little cart and two ponies!" So the child was "making" a little cart and two ponies, things she particularly wanted at that moment. In this way one can make whatever one wishes. The child wishes passionately for a doll or, at heart, for a real baby—that is, she is practising for her future biological task; and in exactly the same way that things in general are produced, she makes the "doll"²⁶ that stands for the baby and all her other wishes. From a patient I got a parallel fantasy dating from her childhood: in the toilet there was a crack in the wall, and she used to imagine that a fairy would come out of this crack and give her everything she wished for. The toilet is well known as the place of dreams where much is created that would later be considered unworthy of this place of origin. Lombroso recounts a pathological fantasy of two insane artists, which is relevant here:

Each of them thought he was God Almighty and the ruler of the universe. They created or produced the world by making it come forth from the rectum, like a bird's egg from the oviduct (or cloaca). One of these artists was gifted with real artistic sense. He painted a picture of himself in the act of creation: the world came forth from his anus, his member was in full erection, he was naked, surrounded by women and by all the insignia of his power.²⁷

²⁴ A French-speaking father, who naturally denied that his child had any such interests, nevertheless mentioned that whenever the child spoke of "cacao" (cocoa) he always added "lit" (bed), meaning "caca au lit."

²⁵ "Analysis of a Phobia in a Five year-old Boy."

²⁶ See the etymological connections given above.

²⁷ Lombroso, *Genio e Follia*, p. 141

It was only after I realized these connections that an observation I made many years ago, which kept on bothering me because I had never rightly understood it, finally became clear to me. The patient was an educated woman who was separated from her husband and child under tragic circumstances and taken to an asylum. She exhibited a typical apathy and slovenliness which were considered due to "affective deterioration." As I rather doubted this deterioration and was inclined to regard it more as a secondary phenomenon, I took great pains to find out how I could get at the blocked source of affect. Finally, after more than three hours' hard work, I hit upon a train of thought that suddenly produced a violent outburst of affect in the patient. Complete affective rapport was instantly established. This happened in the morning, and when I returned at the appointed time in the evening to see her in the ward, she had smeared herself with excrement from head to foot for my reception, and cried out laughingly: "How do you like me now?" She had never done this before; it was obviously a gesture intended for my benefit. The impression it made on me was so powerful that for years afterwards I was convinced of the affective deterioration of such cases. In reality this ceremony of welcome was a drastic attempt to ward off the transference—in so far as the patient acted as an adult. But in so far as she acted on the level of regressive infantilism, the ceremony denoted an outburst of positive feeling. Hence the equivocal "Do you like me now?"

- 9 The birth of Chiwantopel from Popocatepetl therefore means: "I make, produce, invent him out of myself." It is the creation or birth of man by the infantile route. The first men were made from earth or clay. The Latin *lutum*, which really means 'mud,' also had the metaphorical meaning of 'filth.' Plantus even uses it as a term of abuse, something like "You scum!" The idea of anal birth recalls the motif of throwing something behind one. A well known example of this is the story of Deucalion and Pyrrha, the sole survivors of the Flood, who were told by the oracle to throw behind them the bones of the Great Mother. They thereupon threw stones behind them, from which mankind sprang. There is a similar legend that the Dactyls sprang from the dust which the nymph Anchiale threw behind her. In this connection one thinks of the humorous sig-